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The Edinburgh Review

JULY, 1920

No. 473

THE SENATE AND THE COVENANT

1. *The President's Control of Foreign Relations.* By EDWARD S. CORWIN. Princeton University Press. 1917.
2. *The Congressional Record.*
3. *United States Senate Document No. 106.*

IN a remarkable letter, published in *The Times* of 31st January last, Lord Grey of Fallodon explained very clearly 'some aspects of the position in the United States with regard to the League of Nations which are not wholly understood in Great Britain.' He did so in the hope of removing those misunderstandings between the two great English-speaking democracies which threatened to grow up owing to the delay in the ratification of the Peace Treaty by the United States Senate and the not unnatural impatience at this delay expressed in certain quarters in Great Britain, an impatience largely inspired by ignorance of the true motives underlying the critical attitude of the majority of the Senate towards the treaty. In the United States the letter created a sensation. It came like a blast of fresh air, dissipating the poison gas of suspicion in the minds of many Americans, and helping to reveal to them that, whatever else might be said about it, the Covenant of the League is not, and never was, a Machiavellian device for making the United States subservient to British ends. Among the British peoples, too, its effect was, in other ways, equally whole-

some. It gave them reason to suspend their judgment; it helped to confirm their faith in the general goodwill towards them of the American people, of which they had received such signal proof during the comradeship of the Great War; and it enabled them to bear with good humoured philosophy even those exhibitions of 'twisting the lion's tail' which, under the influence of old tradition and the undigested alien elements in the United States, from time to time enlivened the debates at Washington.

But Lord Grey's letter, though singularly complete within its limits, could not do more than outline the difficulties with which the people of the United States and their representatives have been confronted in dealing with the treaty. He had to compress into two columns of a newspaper the substance of what had been debated in the Senate, at political meetings, and in the papers throughout the United States for more than a year. However clear, then, his exposition of the situation, some of it necessarily remained obscure to those who had no knowledge of the workings of the American Constitution, or understanding of the American mind and the conditions of which it is the outcome. It is, then, no work of supererogation to supplement Lord Grey's statement by an attempt to illustrate, from the reports printed in the 'Congressional Record' and other official documents, the reaction of President Wilson's ideals upon American statesmen and politicians, of various types and parties, and the nature of the constitutional issues raised by his attempt to realise those ideals at the Peace Conference. The task is no easy one; for the materials are voluminous and the cross-currents of opinion and prejudice very confusing to the wits. If I attempt it here, it is because I hold strongly with Lord Grey that nothing is more desirable in international politics than a good understanding between the two great branches of the English-speaking race. It is my hope that I may contribute, if only a little, towards such an understanding.

It is necessary, even within the wider limits of a REVIEW article, to circumscribe this task. I do not propose, then, to deal with all the fifteen reservations and amendments to the Treaty of Versailles finally adopted by the Senate. One of them, the fifteenth—which demands in the name of 'self-determination' the right of 'self-government' for Ireland and

her inclusion as a separate nation in the League—I should prefer to pass without comment, my object being what it is. But I cannot refrain from expressing my amazement that the members of the Foreign Relations Committee should have sat for hours listening, with evident appreciation, to the most wonderful lies about British ‘atrocities’ in Ireland poured out voluminously by gentlemen whose only possible excuse is their Celtic temperament and the exuberance of their Celtic imagination. I cannot refrain from expressing my regret that, as the result of this one-sided inquest, the Senate should have introduced into their recension of the treaty a full charge of what Senator Knox described as ‘the political dynamite of the ‘Anglo-Saxon race.’* Save for this passing reference to an action which was really inspired less by ill-feeling towards Great Britain than by the supposed exigencies of party politics,† I shall confine my attention to certain of the more important reservations in respect of the articles of the Covenant of the League of Nations, adopted by the Senate last March, examining the causes which led to their adoption, and estimating their effect on the League as a practical working scheme for preserving peace. The importance of these reservations may seem to have been obscured by the compromise with the irreconcilable opponents of the Covenant, adopted on the 10th June by the Republican Convention at Chicago; for, in the probable event of the election of a Republican President, this has rendered more remote the prospect of the United States entering the League, even subject to the reservations. But the

* The evidence of the Irish delegations is published *verbatim* in ‘Treaty of Peace with Germany,’ 66th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Document No. 106. Statements of Daniel F. Cohalan, etc., pp. 757-903.

† The 15th (the Irish) Reservation was carried by 45 votes to 38, 20 Republicans and 25 Democrats voting for it, and 20 Republicans and 18 Democrats against. The majority was the smallest for any of the reservations, the others having been carried by majorities varying from 64 to 16. Senator Lenroot of Wisconsin, though expressing sympathy with Irish aspirations, voted against the reservation because of its endorsement of the principle of ‘self-determination,’ which, he very rightly remarked, had never been upheld by the United States in the past and would be hard to swallow ‘by those few remaining who fought through the Civil War to preserve this Union against the doctrine of secession and self-determination.’

terms of the compromise admit the principle of an international understanding for the promotion and maintenance of peace, and the willingness of the United States to enter into any association for this purpose will depend on the reception given by the rest of the world to the safeguards which the Senate has thought it necessary to impose as a condition precedent. The terms of the reservations, then, and the debates out of which they grew, have still a very definite practical interest.

Before turning to the questions raised by these reservations, it will be well to make clear the position of the Senate as part of the treaty-making power of the United States, and to explain the peculiar situation created by President Wilson's claim to represent the people of the United States at the Peace Conference to the virtual exclusion of the Senate. For behind the particular controversies arising out of differences of opinion as to the effect and the interpretation of certain articles of the Covenant of the League there has been, throughout this historic conflict, a conscious continuance of struggle for the control of foreign affairs between President and Senate which, arising out of the inconclusive language of the Constitution, has continued intermittently ever since the days of Washington. There is a whole library of literature on the subject of where in the last resort the control of the foreign relations of the United States resides.* Here no more can be done than to state the problem very briefly.

Under Article III. of the Constitution the executive power, which implies the duty of watching over the interests of the United States generally, is vested in the President. It is further provided, *inter alia*, that 'he shall have power, by and with the advice of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur.' He is also commander-in-chief of the army and navy. But under Article I. the power to raise and support armies, to declare war, and to vote the supplies necessary for the carrying out of treaties is vested in Congress. Under the American Constitution, then, the control of foreign relations is divided between powers co-ordinate because all deriving independently from the sovereign people ;

* See Edward S. Corwin, 'The President's Control of Foreign Relations,' an admirably clear exposition of the subject.

and the Constitution itself is silent or obscure as to the exact boundaries of the province of each. For instance, to take a case of great present importance with reference to Article X. of the Covenant of the League :—

‘Congress is given power to declare war, while treaties are made by the President and Senate. Suppose that the President and Senate make a treaty of alliance with another Government, by the terms of which the United States becomes obligated to declare war on a third power : is Congress under Constitutional obligation to declare war?’*

In the case of the unpopular Jay Treaty with Great Britain in 1794, the House of Representatives actually claimed the right to pass upon the treaty before voting the appropriations necessary to carry it out. The claim failed,[†] but has been revived many times since, though actually Congress seems never to have refused the necessary appropriation. The claim of the Senate to co-ordinate power with the President in treaty-making is more securely based on the explicit language of the Constitution. But though Washington and his immediate successors made an effort to consult the Senate in the preparation of treaties, this was found in practice so hampering to negotiations, especially where secrecy was essential, that the practice grew up of leaving the actual negotiation of treaties to the President and officials of the State Department and only submitting them to the Senate for ratification after they had been executed. There have however been many exceptions to this rule.[‡] A notable one, cited by Senator Lodge, was the submission by President Polk, on 10th June 1846, of a form of convention on the subject of the Oregon boundary, submitted by the British Minister, with a request for the advice

* Corwin, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

† Senator Walsh of Montana maintained that the result of the Jay Treaty controversy settled the point that the assent of the House of Representatives is not necessary to the validity of a treaty. Speech of 11th June 1919.

‡ See Corwin, *op. cit.* A list of precedents for the President consulting the Senate was given by Senator Knox in his speech of 17th June 1919, and by Senator Lodge in that of 21st December 1918. See also Lodge, ‘The Treaty-making Power of the Senate,’ reprinted by order of the Senate from *Scribner’s Magazine* of January 1902 (57th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Document No. 104).

of the Senate as to what action should be taken. In the message conveying this request the President said :—

‘In the early periods of the Government the opinion and advice of the Senate were often taken in advance upon important questions of our foreign policy. . . . This practice, though rarely resorted to in later times, was, in my judgment, eminently wise, and may, on occasions of great importance, be properly revived. The Senate are a branch of the treaty-making power, and by consulting them in advance of his own action upon important measures of foreign policy, which may ultimately come before them for their consideration, the President secures harmony of action between that body and himself.’

When it is remembered that no President has ever questioned the power of the Senate to amend treaties when presented to them, and that no less than sixty-eight treaties have been so amended, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that President Wilson would have been wise to have endeavoured from the first to carry the Senate with him by consulting them beforehand as to the terms of a Covenant which may, as he maintains, mark the dawn of a new age of hope for mankind, but certainly represents a tremendous breach with the traditions of the United States. Senator Poindexter, speaking on 3rd March 1920, may have been wrong when he exclaimed, ‘We call this a treaty. It is really a Constitution for the ‘government of the world.’ Senator Knox may have been exaggerating even his own feelings when, on 1st March 1919, he said of the League that ‘a union more abhorrent to our ‘traditions, to our free institutions, to the trend of all civilised ‘government could not be devised.’ But the fact remains that the entry of the United States into the League will mean a profound revolution in the whole orientation of American policy. If there was one case in which it was ‘not safe to ‘leave the vast powers of treaty-making exclusively in the ‘hands of one man,’ it was surely this. The danger was not indeed to the United States, which could always be protected at the last moment by the veto of the Senate; the danger—as experience has proved—was to the peace of the world.

Unfortunately President Wilson did not take this view. He had already excited unfavourable comment by his fondness for sending agents abroad as his ‘personal representatives,’ exaggerating a practice by which earlier Presidents had sought to circumvent the constitutional right of the Senate to ‘advise

'and consent' in the appointment of ambassadors and 'public ministers.'* A week after the signing of the Armistice on 11th November 1918 he came before Congress and announced that he intended himself to go to Paris and negotiate the treaty. It was a challenge thrown down to the Senate, which, as Senator Lodge, speaking on 18th December 1918, pointed out, had 'always been jealous of the treaty-making function'; and it was thrown down at a time when it was certain to be taken up. In the elections which took place shortly before the Armistice the President had appealed for a Democratic majority, in order to strengthen the hands of the administration in the great work of making peace; and the American people had replied by returning a Republican majority in both the Senate and the House of Representatives. Technically, President Wilson might still represent the will of the American people; but in the actual circumstances his reiterated claim to do so only deceived the millions outside who knew nothing of the American Constitution and its workings. If the statesmen of the world were also deceived, the fault was theirs; and it is unfair to blame the American people or their representatives if they refuse to be bound by every letter of agreements entered into, at best, by one part of the treaty-making power without any serious attempt to secure the co-operation and consent of the other.

There was ample warning, quite apart from the elections, that any attempt on the part of the President to force his plans for a world-peace on the Senate would meet with strenuous opposition. It is true that some of the principal Republican leaders had expressed their sympathy with the ideal of a League of Nations;† but it did not follow that they were prepared to endorse the particular programme laid down for such a League by President Wilson. This programme he had outlined in his famous address to the Senate in January 1917, in which he had

* Corwin, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

† E.g., Senator Lodge in his address at Union College, 9th June 1915, and in an address to the League to Enforce Peace, in May 1916, Mr. Roosevelt in a speech accepting the Nobel prize at Christiania in 1910, and Mr. Taft consistently. In his speech of 28th October 1918 Senator Knox contemplated perpetuating 'the League we have,' 'the present glorious alliance,' even though this demanded 'some encroachment upon the conception of complete and independent sovereignty.'

declared for 'peace without victory,' announced that, if peace were to endure, 'it must be peace made secure by the organised 'major force of mankind,' and affirmed that no peace ought to endure which did not recognise the principle that Governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed (*The Times*, 22nd January 1917). This pronouncement had been at once subjected by Senator Lodge to a trenchant criticism. Speaking on 1st February 1917, he scouted the idea that a lasting peace, 'which rests on justice and righteousness,' must necessarily be based on compromises with and concessions to the enemy, and he uttered a prophetic warning against introducing the explosive principle of self-determination into the peace discussions:—

'If we enter upon this most desirable reform of other nations (he said) there may be people sufficiently malevolent to ask whether we secured Louisiana by a vote of the people of that territory, or California and other acquisitions from Mexico, or the Philippines, or Porto Rico, or even Alaska, where there were Russian inhabitants who were handed over for a price, very much like property or as serfs *adscripti glebae*.'

As to the President's scheme of a world-union to enforce peace, Senator Lodge confessed that two years earlier such a scheme had presented great attractions to him, but added that further thought had persuaded him of the serious difficulties in the way of its accomplishment. The 'League for Peace,' to be effective, would have to have the sanction of force behind it, and the direction of this force must be vested in the League itself. 'Are we prepared,' he asked, 'to commit ourselves to a 'purely general proposition without knowing where we are 'going or what is to be demanded of us, except that we shall 'be compelled to furnish our quota of military and naval forces 'to the service of a League in which we have but one voice?' The whole matter, he argued, was one which could not be settled by verbal adherence to a general principle, for *everything depended on the details*; and he urged, in my opinion rightly, that it would be unwise 'to entangle the question of what 'shall be done to make peace permanent after the conclusion 'of the present war with the peace which is to terminate this 'war.'*

* This disposes of the charge, brought by Mr. D. Thomas Curtin and given a conspicuous place in *The Times* of 10th April 1920, that Mr.

President Wilson, then, had ample notice, when he sailed for Europe on 4th December 1918, that whatever Covenant he carried back from Paris would be subjected by the Senate to a rigorous scrutiny.

Further warnings followed in quick succession. On 18th December 1918 Senator Knox, a former Secretary of State, introduced a resolution in favour of separating the consideration of the revision of the laws of the sea and the establishment of a League of Nations from the questions involved in making peace with the Central Empires. In the weighty speech supporting this resolution he called attention to an Act of Congress of August 1916, which authorised and requested the President to call a Conference of the nations on the subject of the arbitration of international disputes and of disarmament, under which instrument the representation of the United States was to consist of ten delegates, eminent in the law and for loyalty, who were to report back to their Government. This, he said, was the authoritative recommendation by Congress in the event of any such subject being taken up. The object of his resolution was

‘not to condemn in advance any league of nations (and least of all the existing entente, or a permanent understanding of all the English-speaking peoples) of a kind that might in time commend itself to the considered judgment of the American people.’

Its object was

‘simply to postpone the larger and very disputable question of some comprehensive league of nations for that separate and very deliberate consideration that its nature demands and that an Act of Congress has already sanctioned.’ . . . ‘The English-speaking peoples and our

Lodge's opposition to the Covenant has been due to his dependence on the Irish vote in Massachusetts, an idea which one would have thought would hardly have survived after the senior Senator from Massachusetts had spoken and voted against the 15th (Irish) Reservation. The truth is that Sinn Fein had set its hopes on the Peace Conference, and it was not until the definitive refusal of the American Peace Delegation to request the Conference to receive ‘the representatives of the so-called Irish Republic’ that the Sinn Feiners and their abettors in the United States started the elaborately organised attempt to wreck the Peace Treaty. The formal letter to Messrs. Frank Walsh and E. F. Dunne conveying the refusal, dated 31st May 1919, is printed in 66th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Document No. 106, p. 809.

principal allies formed a real league, and they have enforced civilisation. The league we have stands ready to enforce peace.'

The doctrine of Washington—of which so much was to be heard later in these debates—was no longer applicable, since the 'detached and isolated situation' of the United States, which had justified their segregation from the world's affairs, no longer existed. But any understanding for common action with foreign Powers must take account of the American Constitution, which made it impossible for the United States to bind itself in advance to go to war in given circumstances, since Congress alone had the power to declare war and President and Senate, as the treaty-making powers, had no right to bind the Congress in advance 'to vacate its predecision, under the Constitution, of future questions of declaring or not declaring war; nay, more, to surrender to foreign nations their constitutional right to make that decision whenever it arises.' It might be wise for the United States to enter some definite entente, provided it were a small and a natural one involving only limited and appropriate obligations; but any 'league of nations' should await future exhaustive consideration.*

Three days later, 21st December 1918, Senator Lodge delivered in the Senate a speech in criticism of President Wilson's Fourteen Points, of which the only one that concerns us here is the fourteenth, which advocates a 'general association of nations.' Like Senator Knox, Senator Lodge laid great stress on the necessity of maintaining complete harmony between the United States and the associated Powers. 'Any serious

* Seven months later Senator Knox enlarged on this theme in language which has a very practical interest. 'We ought,' he said, 'to carry out the spirit of the Act of 1916, which authorised the President to convene the nations of the world together to establish a code of international law, reduce armaments, to establish an international tribunal and go as far as possible in the direction of securing peace through justice, through a league to which all the world are parties in its formation. This would be a fitting, generous, and dignified exit from a situation in which primarily we had no direct concern.' Speech of 29th August 1919 ('Congressional Record,' p. 11).

It is to be noted that even Senator Brandegee, who refused to vote for the Covenant even with reservations, declared himself in favour of an association of nations for the development of international law and of a world court. Speech of 19th November 1919, p. 7.

'difference among English-speaking people,' he said, 'would be 'deplorable in the highest degree.' The United States were bound, he argued, both by interest and by honour, to see that the terms of peace were carried out. At the same time he warned the world that the Senate would have something to say as to the terms of peace, and denounced the President's action in ignoring a body of which the ultimate responsibility in the making of peace was quite equal to his own. With regard to the League of Nations, he reinforced the arguments of Senator Knox :—

'We have now at this moment a League of Nations. They have been engaged in compelling Germany to make peace and in restoring peace to the world. . . . By this existing and most efficient League the peace once signed must be carried out and made effective. Therefore, it is well to reflect that entering upon a new and larger League of Nations involves somewhat heavy responsibilities and dangers which must be carefully examined and deliberately considered before they are incurred. The attempt now to form a League of Nations—and I mean an effective League, with power to enforce its decrees—can tend at this moment only to embarrass the peace that we ought to make at once with Germany. The attempt to tack the provisions for an effective League of Nations to the Treaty of Peace now making with Germany would be to launch the nations who have been fighting Germany on a sea of boundless discussion, the very thing Germany most desires. . . . If the attempt was successful and a League of Nations, with the powers about which I have ventured to inquire vested in it, were to come here before the Senate, *it might endanger the Peace Treaty and force amendments. It certainly would lead to very long delays.*'

In any case, Senator Lodge said, it was essential that before senators could pass upon a League of Nations they must have precise definitions of what was intended. No such definitions were vouchsafed to them. The sounding generalities of the President re-echoed round the world, and these penetrated into the Senate house, but of his practical proposals the senators heard no more than ordinary mortals. Meanwhile, in flat contradiction to the views expressed by the Republican leaders, the President declared pontifically at Manchester, on the 30th of December, that the United States would not 'join any 'combination of Powers which is not a combination of all' (*The Times*, 31st December 1918). At the plenary session of the Peace Conference on the 25th of January he stated that the

representatives of the United States regarded the League of Nations 'as the keystone of the whole programme which 'expressed our purpose and our ideal in this war,' that the American people, as a great democracy, expected their leaders to express their thoughts, and that they, the delegates, had no choice but to obey their mandate and would not dare to abate a single part of the programme which constituted their instructions—instructions which included, apparently, the duty of seeing 'that every people in the world shall choose its own 'master.'* It was a bold claim in view of the response made by the electors to the President's appeal only a month or two before, and of the fact that the Senate was in full revolt, even the Democrats already showing signs of restiveness;† but it was a claim which deceived the world—to its undoing.

The tension and irritation in the Senate were increased by the quite unnecessary mystery with which the process of incubating the League was surrounded.‡ It was in vain that Senator Hitchcock of Nebraska, who with Senator Swanson of Virginia led the Democratic faithful supporters of the President in the Committee, argued that the Covenant had been published and publicly discussed for weeks before it was finally framed. The mystery of its actual genesis remained, and covered it with suspicion. Of the preparatory drafts only that of General Smuts had been given to the world, and this so closely resembled the scheme adopted a week or two later by the Conference as to lead to the belief that this 'Frankenstein's monster' had been hatched in the British Foreign Office, and that President Wilson, 'poisoned by the intrigue-laden air of European diplomacy,' had adopted it blindly. The cry became loud that the Monroe Doctrine was in danger; and this cry, as everybody knows or ought to know, acts upon the patriotic American very much in

* Senate Document No. 106, *cit.*, p. 280 *seq.*

† Senator Reed of Missouri spoke strongly against the League of Nations on the last day of the Session of 1918.

‡ It was not till 12th September 1919 that the Foreign Relations Committee obtained, through Mr. Bullitt, a copy of the original draft of the Covenant drawn up by President Wilson. It is printed in Senate Document No. 106, *cit.*, p. 1165. The typewritten copy had been given to Mr. Bullitt by Colonel House and was produced on the demand of the Committee.

the same way as the cry of 'rats!' upon a mettlesome terrier. The resulting contest raged more especially round the implications of Article X. of the Covenant, which binds the signatory Powers to guarantee the 'political independence and 'territorial integrity' of every member of the League.

With this controversy, in its purely American aspects, I shall deal later. Here it is only necessary to say that, owing to the obstinate reticence of the President, it was possible for the implacable opponents of the League to represent Article X. as the work of the Machiavellian Lord Robert Cecil, the veiled dictator of England, whose sole object was to commit the United States to the armed defence of the over-grown boundaries of the British Empire. In 1815, said Senator Hiram Johnson of California, Great Britain refused to be a party to such a guarantee.

'It is obvious why British statesmanship is now quite at variance with this. To-day, with the tremendous accessions of lands by England, she can very well insist upon a guarantee of boundaries. This League of Nations is written round one central idea that the great democracy of the United States shall guarantee, maintain, and preserve the British Empire's boundaries, with its seething millions of discontented peoples, the increased territories of France, etc., etc.'*

It was not till the 19th August 1919 that the President, in the course of a Conference with the members of the Foreign Relations Committee at the White House, coyly acknowledged

* Speech of 2nd June 1919, p. 6. Since the Senator from California did me the honour to quote my 'Confederation of Europe' in support of his argument, perhaps I may be allowed to make a comment by way of correction. The reasons why British statesmen in 1815, and later, refused to be parties to a general guarantee were much the same as those which have determined the attitude of the more responsible American critics of the Covenant. Especially they realised the danger of undertaking a definite obligation to take action in circumstances which could not be foreseen, which they believed might easily lead to the enforced repudiation of the obligation and so to the weakening of that idea of the sanctity of treaties which they thought it imperative to uphold. The boundaries of the British Empire were, as a matter of fact, enormously extended in 1815. It is only fair to say however that Castlereagh regretted the retention of the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon. Great Britain, he said, would have been more than compensated for their restoration to Holland by the increase of her 'moral authority' on the Continent which would have resulted from such a conspicuous act of self-renunciation.

the incriminating article as his own pet offspring and explained to the somewhat disconcerted senators the composite origin of the Covenant and the methods of its composition.* But by this time the harm had been done. The theme of British perfidy was too grateful to a certain type of politician, too popular among wide masses of 'hyphenated' electors, to be lightly scrapped; and, in spite of the President's admission, senatorial orators continued to affirm that the real object of Article X. was to 'maintain the world supremacy of the British Empire.'†

This mood of suspicion and resentment was increased by the attitude of the President during his short visit to the United States in February. At a dinner given at the White House to the members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs he did, indeed, listen to objections to the terms of the Covenant and promise that they would be taken into consideration. But his attitude was far from reassuring. On the points which he considered fundamental—and the senators believed to be most dangerous—he showed no disposition to compromise. Congress was nearing the end of the session; and the members of the Foreign Relations Committee realised that if it adjourned *sine die*, and dispersed over the country, without making any attempt to exercise its constitutional right and duty to advise the President and to impress upon him the consequences of a refusal on his part to modify his programme, the result might well prove disastrous. On the 4th of March, accordingly, Senator Lodge introduced a resolution in the Senate which, after reaffirming the constitutional right of that body to decide whether a treaty should be ratified or not, affirmed that, while it was the sincere desire of the Senate that the nations of the world should unite to promote peace and general disarmament, 'the constitution of the League of Nations in the form now

* Report of the Conference at the White House, of 19th August 1919. Senate Document No. 106, *cit.*, p. 499 *seq.* The American draft of the Covenant, in which the first sentence of Article X. appears as Article III., was sent to the Senate in August. It is printed on p. 254 of the above Document.

† *E.g.*, Senator Norris of Nebraska. Speech of 11th November 1919.

'proposed to the Peace Conference should not be accepted 'by the United States, that the negotiations on the part of the United States should be immediately directed to the urgent business of settling peace terms with Germany satisfactory to the United States and the associated Powers, and that the proposal for a League of Nations 'should be then taken up for 'careful and serious consideration.'*

This resolution, though promptly blocked on behalf of the Democratic stalwarts by Senator Swanson, was a danger signal not to be neglected; for thirty-seven senators signed a declaration that they would have supported it had it been put to the vote. President Wilson chose to take it as a challenge, and by way of counterblast, on the eve of his departure for Paris on the 7th of March 1919, announced to the great meeting in the Metropolitan Opera House at New York, that when he came back he would have the Covenant so intertwined with the Peace Treaty, and their relations with each other so interdependent that it would be impossible to separate them (*The Times*, 6th March 1919). This statement produced the utmost indignation in the Senate, and incidentally had the effect of subordinating the question of the character of the Covenant, and even that of the general peace, to the constitutional issues involved in the contest between President and Senate for control of the treaty-making power.

Party had hitherto played but a subordinate part in the debates on the League; its more responsible critics had warmly disclaimed any partisan motives; and, indeed, to the end the voting in the Senate showed that opposition to President Wilson's plans was not confined to Republicans. Nor had the opposition to the idea of any departure from the American tradition of 'isolation' been hitherto intransigent in any quarter; both Senator Johnson of California and Senator Borah of Idaho—the most uncompromising champions, in the event, of pure 'Americanism'—had signed the Lodge resolution of the 4th of March, with its endorsement of, at least, the idea of a League of Nations, which Senator Johnson confessed, speaking on 2nd June 1919, had a charm and an allurements, a hope

* 'Congressional Record,' p. 5190.

and an inspiration, which we would have gone far to realise and consummate. But when Congress met again for the summer session its temper had changed for the worse. It was clear, after what had passed, that the President's expressed intention of dovetailing the Covenant into the general Treaty of Peace would turn the critical attention of senators to the terms of the general treaty as well; and one senator at least had publicly declared that, in the event of the President carrying out his threat, he would vote against Covenant and general treaty alike. When therefore Congress met, its tendency was not only to be critical but hypercritical.

The tendency was increased by the news from the seat of the Peace Conference. The members of the Foreign Relations Committee complained bitterly that they were kept wholly uninformed of the course of the negotiations; and they were the more ready to quarrel with the decisions reached at Paris. It soon, indeed, became apparent that the 'new day,' promised by the President, was not likely to be as halcyon as he had led the untutored millions to suppose. The President himself confessed his disillusionment. To Mr. Frank P. Walsh, Chairman of the 'American Commission on Irish Independence,' who recalled to him his declaration that all nations had the right to self-determination, he said:—

'You have touched on the great metaphysical tragedy of to-day. My words have raised hope in the hearts of millions of people. . . . When I gave utterance to those words, I said them without the knowledge that nationalities existed, which are coming to us day after day.'*

Surely Pandora, when she opened her fatal box, was not more innocent!

'The metaphysician who travels on a map of the world,' Mirabeau once said, 'crosses everything without trouble, and 'is not embarrassed by mountains, or deserts, or rivers, or 'abysses; but when one wishes to travel in reality, when one 'wishes to arrive at one's destination, it is necessary to remember 'all the time that one is walking on the earth, and that one is

* Senate Document No. 106, *cit.*, p. 838. Interview between President Wilson and Messrs. Edward F. Dunne and Frank P. Walsh, at the President's house, 11 Place des États Unis, Paris, Wednesday, 11th June 1919, p. 835 *seq.*

'no longer in an ideal world.' President Wilson, descending into the real world, had become painfully conscious of the obstructive facts of life; but the great American democracy, for whom the world outside the United States is scarcely even a map, had no appreciation of the impossibility of applying everywhere and at once those exalted principles of the Declaration of Independence, the application of which to barbarous and semi-civilised people one of their own most respected statesmen had declared to be 'contrary to the whole 'course of civilisation.* American idealism saw in the provisions of the Peace Treaty, as one by one they came to light, a scornful repudiation of that principle of self-determination which, oblivious of the methods of their own expansion and of the lessons of their Civil War, they conceived it to be the peculiar mission of the United States to champion. The critics of the League were quick to interpret this temper, and to use it to reinforce their arguments. Speaking on 2nd June 1919 Senator Johnson said: 'We have seen our idealism abandoned, 'our altruism forgotten. We have observed with astonishment 'and indignation our country inextricably bound in the sordid, 'cunning, secret, and crafty designs of European and Asiatic 'Governments.' 'Had President Wilson's ideals been realised 'at the Peace Conference,' said Senator David Walsh, some months later, 'no senator would, I believe, have dared to vote 'against such a new and healthy method of preventing wars. 'It is the complete absence of the high-minded sentiments we 'proclaimed that has provoked the great opposition to the 'Covenant.'† The language of the responsible Republican leaders was, on occasion, scarcely less extreme. Speaking on 29th August 1919 Senator Knox said:—

'The treaty, stripped of its meaningless beatific provisions, provides merely for an alliance between the five great Powers against the balance of the world . . . a treaty which requires us to underwrite all the regional understandings between nations, most of which are based upon oppression of weaker nations.'

* Senator Root. Address on 'American Policies in the Philippines,' at Peoria, Illinois, 24th September 1902. See 'The Military and Colonial Policy of the United States,' p. 87.

† Speech of 9th October 1919. Senator Walsh was, of course, giving voice to the opinions of his constituents, the Irish element dominant in Boston.

On the 10th of June Senator Knox had introduced a resolution that the treaty should be so drawn as to permit any nation to reserve without prejudice to itself for future separate and full consideration of its people the question of any League of Nations. In the preamble to this resolution the treaty was described as 'calculated to force upon us undesirable and far-reaching Covenants inimical to our free institutions.' In the speech introducing this resolution, on 17th June, the Senator pointed out how, in his opinion, the Covenant 'sanctions and commands wars, strikes down our great constitutional principles, the bulwark of our protection, robs us of the most vital attributes of sovereignty, and threatens our independence and life.'

It was true that, as the outcome of the Conference with the President in February, the Covenant had undergone 'reconsideration and refurbishing,' the final draft submitted to the Peace Conference on the 28th of April containing fresh clauses intended to meet the objections of senators, notably the paragraph in Article I. defining the right of withdrawal from the League, and the new article (XXI.) directed to safeguarding the Monroe Doctrine. But these changes, Senator Knox avowed, had only augmented his doubts, while Senator Lodge said bluntly that they had made the Covenant worse than before. None the less, there was still no disposition to reject the Covenant entirely, save among a small irreconcilable minority. 'Whatever is good in the League we want to save,' said Senator Knox in the course of the same speech, 'and the whole people want it saved.' 'But,' he added, 'we must have the opportunity fairly to decide what is worth saving.'

In view of the responsibility placed upon the Senate under the Constitution, this attitude cannot be considered unreasonable. As Senator Knox put it, the American people were asked to sign a vast promissory note, binding them for all future time, without having had any opportunity of knowing what obligations they incurred under it. The fact that the Covenant had been made an integral part of the treaty complicated the issue and made it a hundred times more difficult and critical; for the case for or against the League could now only be argued in connexion with the provisions of the treaties with which it was inextricably interwoven. Since, then, senators were asked to

commit the United States to the principle of a general guarantee, they thought it incumbent upon them to inquire into the nature of the settlements to be guaranteed. In taking this attitude they were, after all, but following the precedent set a hundred years before by Castlereagh, who, in opposing the Emperor Alexander's proposal for a general alliance of guarantee, had said that 'nothing would be more immoral or more prejudicial to the character of Government generally, than the idea that their force was collectively to be prostituted to the support of established power, without any consideration of the extent to which it was abused.'* It may be admitted, then, that the Senate was *prima facie* justified in carrying its inquiry beyond the terms of the Covenant into those of the whole body of the treaty which the United States, as a member of the League, was to take a share in guaranteeing.

Unfortunately, the members of the Foreign Relations Committee approached this responsible task in no very judicial spirit. A complex of causes contributed to produce this unfortunate attitude. The President's tactless treatment of the Senate had developed its political opposition into something like personal hatred, and the more irresponsible politicians in that august body felt that any stick was good enough with which to beat a dog. With the fading of the memory of the war, and the growth of exaggerated legends of the decisive part played by America in it, the old antagonism to Great Britain was raising its head again among a people whose sole knowledge of the part played by her in history is derived from 'patriotic' school text-books, and the irresponsible outpourings of an exuberantly 'patriotic' press.†

The enemies of England saw their opportunity and seized it. The Sinn Feiners, supplied with ample funds by the generosity of 'hyphenated' Americans, spread the network of their mendacious propaganda through the length and breadth of the Union, and found eager allies in those self-appointed representatives of the 'oppressed nationalities' of the British Empire, who for years past had found an asylum from justice and a

* Quoted in W. Alison Phillips, 'Confederation of Europe,' second edition, p. 174.

† See Owen Wister, 'A Straight Deal, or, The Ancient Grudge.'

fertile field for intrigue in America. The vast agitation thus aroused had its effect on senators—who, after all, are politicians and human. In November 1920 a new President was to be elected; and presidential elections in the United States cast a shadow more than a year long before them; and thus it came about that what should have been an impartial inquiry into certain aspects of the Peace Treaty became, in fact, largely a mere advertisement of senatorial sympathy with the views held about the treaty by certain powerful political groups, notably the Irish-Americans, whose support it was deemed necessary to secure betimes, or at least not hopelessly to alienate.

For the reasons already stated, it is possible to understand why the Foreign Relations Committee should have thought it incumbent upon itself to inquire into the alleged misgovernment of Ireland, Egypt, India, and Korea. According to all traditional standards of international comity such an inquiry would have been condemned as impertinent; but the system established under the Covenant of the League makes almost inevitable the submission of the internal affairs of nations to external judgment, and the Senate might not unreasonably plead that it was but exercising a responsibility which the Covenant itself imposed. That it was exercised in so peculiar a fashion must, I fear, be ascribed to the fact that the Irish-American organisations, after their rebuff at Paris in August, united solidly in an attempt to wreck the treaty and the League. This is the final explanation of the fact that the Foreign Relations Committee practically confined itself, in this examination of British and Japanese misdeeds, to hearing and placing upon its records the most amazing *ex parte* evidence for the prosecution, without the slightest attempt at cross-examination, and without any effort to hear the case for the defence.* It is fair to say that this result was partly due to the fact that, under the rules of the Senate, only American citizens can give evidence. It is also fair to add that the Committee listened with equal patience to the spokesmen of another oppressed race which had appealed

* Senate Document No. 106, *cit.* Egypt, Statement of Joseph W. Folk, p. 651; India, Statement of Dudley Field Malone, p. 750; Ireland, pp. 757-903. The Senate inquiries extended over most of the national settlements embraced in the treaty—Hungary, *e.g.*, being represented by three American Magyars.

in vain to the Peace Conference—the negroes of the United States.*

Before entering on these inquiries, to which it would be a mistake to attach too serious an international importance, the Foreign Relations Committee had made an effort to elucidate the exact implications of the terms of the Covenant. In a detailed criticism of the original draft Senator Lodge had already on 28th February 1919, from the point of view of a lawyer, called attention to the too frequent ambiguity of its terms, and pointed out the need for clear definition, if quarrels were to be avoided. Yet President Wilson, speaking at St. Louis on 5th September 1919, had the courage to say that there was 'not a phrase of doubtful meaning in the whole document.' The examination of Mr. Miller, the American expert who, with Mr. (now Sir Cecil) Hurst of the Foreign Office, had actually drafted the Covenant, showed that at least on certain points of great importance there was considerable doubt.† The answers given by the President to the interrogatories of senators, during the very interesting Conference at the White House on the 19th of August, did little to remove this impression.

A long debate arose on the exact obligation to be undertaken by the United States under Article X. The critics of the Covenant maintained that the terms of the Article bound the United States absolutely to go to the armed assistance of members of the League against 'external aggression,' and there was general agreement that the moral obligation to do so under the Covenant had the same force as a legal obligation. The President however argued that, the obligation being a moral one, Congress would be free to judge in each case whether it was morally bound to take action. To which Senator Brandegee aptly replied that the external aggression against which the guarantee was sought was 'not stated in the treaty

* Senate Document No. 106, pp. 679-698. Referring to the clauses in the treaty safeguarding racial minorities, Mr. William Monroe Trotter, Secretary of the National Equal Rights League, said that 'there are none of those racial minorities who suffer the denials of democracy and the insecurity of life and liberty which are suffered by the coloured American minority in this country,' p. 681. The appeal to the Peace Conference is printed on p. 686.

† *Ib.*, p. 379.

'at all to be an *unwarranted* aggression' (p. 537). Still more curious was the President's interpretation of the clause of Article I., empowering any member of the League to withdraw 'provided 'that all its international obligations have been fulfilled.' To senators the plain meaning of this provision seemed to be that no nation would be free to withdraw from the League unless the League itself were satisfied that its obligations had been fulfilled. According to the President however neither Council nor Assembly would have anything to say in the matter, and the country giving notice of its withdrawal would be the sole judge of whether or not it had fulfilled its international obligations. 'The only restraining influence,' he said, 'would 'be the public opinion of the world.'

Of the various other ambiguities, by far the most important was that involved in the possession of votes in the Assembly, not only by the British Empire but also by several of its constituent States. In the event of, *e.g.*, a dispute between the United States and Canada, would the vote of the United States be excluded while those of Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and India would be admitted, or would these dominions be accounted 'parties' to the dispute, and so also excluded? On this point Mr. Miller, it is to be noted, reserved his opinion. The President, on the other hand, maintained that the unity of the British Empire is established by its representation on the Council; that therefore the Dominions on any question affecting the Empire would have but one vote between them, and that in the event of a dispute between one of them and any outside Power, all would be parties to it, and therefore excluded from voting.* Clearly, in this matter as in others, the language of the Covenant is not sufficiently explicit.

The result of this Conference was to confirm the opinion of the majority of the Foreign Relations Committee as to the necessity for reservations clearly defining the sense in which the United States understood certain doubtful provisions of the Covenant. To certain of the reservations, indeed, the President himself did not object, except on the ground—which was dis-

* P. 539 *seq.* The Dominion votes, in my opinion, are a source of potential weakness, not of strength, to the Empire. At the Conference, I am informed, Canada on several occasions cast her vote with the United States against Great Britain.

puted—that they would involve fresh negotiations and therefore the postponement of peace. In any case, the Conference had done nothing towards a compromise. The President's autumn campaign, during which he committed himself to the support of every jot and tittle of the treaty as it stood, made it the more impossible for him to come to an agreement with the Senate. The controversy became ever more embittered, and the President's tragic mental breakdown in the autumn rendered the situation yet more difficult, while the whole world waited on the will of a sick man who could only attend to business at intervals. The Senate, realising the supreme need for peace, but unwilling to sacrifice in the interests of peace what it believed to be America's vital interests, tried to force a solution of the problem.

The reservations, voted by considerable majorities, which included many Democrats, in the Foreign Relations Committee were passed by the Senate last March.

Mr. Atlee Pomerene, Democratic Senator from Ohio, who had throughout been one of the staunchest and ablest of the champions of the Covenant, speaking on 19th March 1920, urged that it was the duty of the President to yield.

‘The success of the League (he said) is going to depend largely upon whether the United States is a member or not. ‘The world knows this; and if amendments are desired, the United States will always be in a position to demand them, and if they are not granted, to diplomatically withdraw.’

He quoted Lord Grey's letter as proof that the co-operation of the United States, under the reservations, would not be refused by the other Powers, and declared that, even with the reservations, the Covenant of the League would constitute the greatest peace treaty ever devised by the nations of the world. Senator Lenroot of Wisconsin reinforced these arguments, pointing out that Article XI., which remained intact, and the provisions of which practically covered all that was essential in Article X., had been declared by President Wilson before his illness to be ‘the heart ‘of the Covenant.’

‘Is it possible (he asked) that the President Wilson who uttered these words is the same man who now says the heart of the Covenant is in Article X., and that this provision that he then said constituted the heart of the covenant will be only a ‘crap of paper?’

But not even the defection of his paladins would move President Wilson an inch from the position he had taken up. If the resultant *impasse* was disastrous for the world, it was scarcely less so for the United States. The whole country was seething with trouble—political, industrial, racial—and the continuance of the technical state of war with the Central Powers stood in the way of a return to normal and wholesome conditions. The Senate, charged by the President with the responsibility for so disastrous a state of things, bethought itself of an expedient for ending it, or at least for conspicuously throwing the blame on the President. In the constitutional issue as between the two co-ordinate treaty-making powers it had been victorious. The President had from the first been accused of pushing the very large powers of the executive in every direction, and there can be no doubt that had he succeeded, by the device of dovetailing the Covenant into the treaty, in forcing the Senate to accept it without reservation, this would have greatly raised the power of the President. Had he succeeded in maintaining his view that the Senate had no right to interfere, this would have been a blow to the constitutional powers of the Senate from which it would have been difficult to recover.

In this attempt he had been completely defeated; and the Senate now determined to follow up its victory by taking the initiative in restoring the status of peace. It was argued that the state of war with Germany and Austria, proclaimed by Congress on 6th April 1917, had in reality ended with the Armistice signed on the 11th of November 1918, and that it was within the competence of Congress to establish *de jure* a peace which already existed *de facto*, by simply repealing the joint resolutions of 1917. In the debates which followed the introduction by Senator Knox of the joint resolution to this effect the influence of the inquiries into the provisions of the treaty were apparent. In the earlier efforts to separate the Covenant from the treaty there had been, among the more responsible senators, no suggestion that America's obligations under the general treaty should be set aside. But opinion had ripened. Senator Knox, speaking on 5th May 1920, said the treaty was almost universally 'discredited' in all its parts, and advocated the conclusion of a separate treaty with Germany. As for the League of Nations, he said,

'it promises little but mischief, unless recast on such radical lines as will entirely obliterate its identity.'

The joint peace resolution passed the Senate on the 16th of May by a majority of only five,* and after adjustment with the like resolution passed in the House of Representatives, was sent up to the President, who promptly vetoed it. Since, on being resubmitted to Congress, the three-fifths majority necessary to override the President's veto could not be secured, the resolutions fell through. Thus, at the time of writing, the *impasse* remains. We must take such comfort as we can from Senator Harding's declaration,† during the debate on the resolution, that the Senate's rebuke to Mr. Wilson would be a most wholesome message to the world. It is a pity that the world did not sooner appreciate the warning conveyed by the American elections of 1918.

It remains to examine, as briefly as possible, the nature of the objections to the Covenant which the reservations are intended to meet, and to estimate the importance of these reservations from the point of view of a League of Nations of which the United States shall become a member.

The reservations to the treaty as a whole number fifteen, of which ten are concerned with the terms of the Covenant. Of these ten, three only, viz., the second, fourth, and fifth, seriously affect these terms. The second reservation repudiates on behalf of the United States the obligation of general guarantee under Article X., and declares that the United States will not employ its armed forces 'under any article of the 'treaty for any purpose,' unless in any particular case Congress shall by act or joint resolution so provide. The fourth reservation, referring to Article XV. of the Covenant, reserves to the United States the exclusive right to decide what questions are within its domestic jurisdiction, and declares that all domestic and political questions relating in whole or in part to its internal affairs are not under this treaty to be submitted to arbitration or to the consideration of the Council or Assembly of the League. Among the questions specifically mentioned as solely within the jurisdiction of the United States are

* Only two Democrats voted for it.

† See *The Times*, 16th May 1920.

immigration, labour, coastwise traffic, the tariff, and commerce. The fifth reservation declares that the United States will not submit to arbitration or to inquiry by the Assembly or Council of the League any questions which, in the judgment of the United States, depend upon or relate to its long-established policy, commonly known as the Monroe Doctrine, which is to be interpreted by the United States alone, and is declared to be wholly outside the jurisdiction of the League of Nations.

Of these reservations the last is the most important, and indeed covers the others. It is of interest, then, to illustrate from the debates of which it was the outcome its exact significance. In these debates a fundamental divergence of view was apparent as to the nature and scope of the Monroe Doctrine. President Wilson and his supporters saw in it only a great statement of principle, a guarantee of the Republics of the New World against external aggression. In his address to the Senate on the 22nd January 1917, the President said that his proposal was 'that the nations of the world should with one accord adopt the Monroe Doctrine as the doctrine of the world,' and declared that this represented 'no breach in either our traditions or our policy as a nation, but a fulfilment, rather, of all we have professed or striven for.' Authoritative Republican pronouncements could be quoted in support of this view. The Monroe Doctrine, said President Roosevelt in his annual message in 1901, 'is simply a step and a long step towards assuring the peace of the world by securing the possibility of permanent peace on this hemisphere.'* 'Article X,' said the Republican ex-President Taft, 'covers the Monroe Doctrine and extends it to the world.'† Senator Thomas Walsh, one of the ablest of the Democratic champions of the League, speaking on 11th June 1919, asked:—

'What is the Monroe Doctrine? What is it but a voluntary obligation assumed by the United States to "respect and preserve as against external aggression"—external, in this case, signifying trans-oceanic—the Republics of South and Central America?'

The opponents of the Covenant had no difficulty in showing that these arguments had little basis in history. It might be

* Quoted by Senator Swanson, 14th July 1919, p. 30.

† Quoted by Senator Borah, 21st February 1919, p. 3.

true that, as Senator Swanson urged on 14th July 1919, the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine had for a hundred years preserved the Western Hemisphere from external aggression. It had not prevented conquests of one State by another within that hemisphere; and of these conquests the United States had obtained the lion's share. 'How can it be said that it concerns 'the right of small States,' asked Senator Lodge, on 1st February 1917, 'when Argentina and Brazil have taken control of 'Paraguay, when Chile has by force of arms annexed part of 'Peru, and when we took by conquest the larger part of Mexico, 'and no one, either at home or abroad, ever suggested that 'these acts constituted in any way an infraction of the 'Monroe Doctrine?' To define it, as Article XXI. of the Covenant defines it, as 'a regional understanding . . . for the 'preservation of peace' was to misinterpret its whole meaning and implication. The Monroe Doctrine, said Senator Lodge, is not an understanding, but a policy—a policy dictated by the same motive of self-preservation as that which has led Australia, rightly, to object to the restoration of the German power in the Pacific islands; and as the result of this policy he quoted the famous dispatch of Secretary Olney in 1895:— 'To-day the United States is practically sovereign on this 'continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it 'confines its interposition.'

Senator Knox, speaking on 17th June 1919, strongly supported this view. The Monroe Doctrine, he said, had never before been 'a mere measure of spineless pacifism.' It had been a policy, and if it was to be effective, a policy it would have to remain.

'Its precise character, the extent, method, and time of its application, the means of compelling its observance, are all matters of our high and uncontrolled will and sovereign prerogative. We, the United States, cannot answer to anyone else in any respect at all. We use it when, as, and to the extent we need it. There can be no limitation upon it except our requirements, our will, and our force of arms.'

Under Article XXI. of the Covenant the Monroe Doctrine would cease to be a policy; it would become an agreement; and, according to the official commentary of the British Mission at Paris on the Article, it would not be the United States but the League which would settle any disputes as to this agreement. This would be, not to preserve, but to destroy the Monroe

Doctrine. As Senator Lodge had put it on 28th February 1919, 'if you extend it to the rest of the world, it ceases to exist, because it rests on nothing but the differentiation of the American hemisphere from the rest of the world.' From this point of view, indeed, as Senator Poindexter pointed out, the Monroe Doctrine had already been destroyed by the entrance of the Latin American Republics into the League.

To Senator Pomerene the sacrifice of sovereignty involved in the United States entering into peace covenants with its allies for mutual protection seemed less offensive than the assumption of sovereignty over American Republics 'when we do not have it and when some of them even resent it.'* But from the point of view of the traditional policy and attitude of the United States the opponents of the Covenant had the best of the argument;† and this fact determined the attitude of the Senate towards the obligations to be incurred by the United States under Articles X. and XV. To the constitutional objections to these obligations reference has already been made; the reluctance of the Senate to enter into vast and vague commitments in unforeseen circumstances is easy to understand; but the determining factor in the end was their belief that the system of mutual guarantee involved the destruction of the Monroe Doctrine, since its effect would be, as Senator Johnson said on 2nd June 1919, 'to deliver finally this great American policy into the power of the European nations.' Conversely, as Senator Lodge had argued on 21st December 1918:

'If we insist on the Monroe Doctrine, do you imagine that the other nations of the world are going to permit us with our vote and our power to say what shall be done in Africa, Europe, and Asia, and then when it comes to the Americas, to be met with the statement that there is a great circle drawn by the Monroe Doctrine about these continents, and that they cannot put their hands on them?'

On a later occasion, 12th August 1919, Senator Lodge said that it was true that America could no longer be isolated; but she should endeavour to keep clear of European disputes, if only because of their probable reaction on her own large alien population; and all American interference ought therefore to

* Speech of 21st July 1919, p. 13. Cf. Senator M'Cumber, 18th June 1919, p. 26.

† See generally Bushnell Hart, 'The Monroe Doctrine.'

be strictly limited. The object of the second reservation is to secure such limitation. It is not implied that in no circumstances will the United States aid in maintaining the world's order outside the Americas; it merely makes it clear that Congress, as representing the people of the United States, reserves to itself the right to decide when and in what circumstances such aid is to be given. It does, in short, little more than define a right which, according to President Wilson, is, as applied to any nation, implicit in the terms of Article X, as it stands.

Similarly, the fourth reservation is intended to make perfectly clear a principle—viz., that of non-intervention—which is explicitly recognised in Article XV. The Article reserves to the Council the right to decide what are or are not matters which by international law are solely within domestic jurisdiction. The reservation keeps the decision in the hands of the United States, so far as its own domestic affairs are concerned; but in doing this it probably does no more than define what would, in any case, have been the attitude of the United States; for no great nation could or would allow its domestic concerns to be made the object of international intervention, as the result of a vote from which it was itself excluded. It was perhaps to provide an object-lesson in the dangers of such intervention that the Senate passed the fifteenth Reservation, which is in flat contradiction to every principle, including the Monroe Doctrine, which they have championed.

As regards the whole question of the future of the Alliance, we may regret that the views expressed by Senator Knox, in his speech of 18th December 1918, did not prevail; that the Powers of the Entente did not remain together, without 'entangling Covenants,' as the nucleus of a wider League to be gradually and carefully developed; that the Monroe Doctrine, 'with the mandate which it carries,' was not established as one of several such 'regional understandings' under which the civilised or civilising nations could have shared the governance of the world. But for the unfortunate action of the Conference in confusing the issues of making peace with the Central Powers with those involved in making the world peace permanent, the great association of the Entente nations would have remained unbroken, and peace would have been nearer than it is.

W. ALISON PHILLIPS.

THE SUCCESSION STATES OF THE HAPSBURG MONARCHY

I. THE NEW AUSTRIA

WHEN one returns from Vienna to England, one is asked whether the distress painted by the newspapers is not exaggerated. It is true, some features of it have been given disproportionate prominence. The figures of infant mortality, for example, though unsatisfactory, are not catastrophic. The prevalence of diseases like rickets amongst the children is much more serious. But there are worse things even than famine and disease in the life of a people, and the most serious phenomenon in the new Austrian State is not the physical but the moral collapse.

Vienna is a city without hope. It has lost its *raison d'être*. It grew to be what it is as the capital of a great empire, the residence of a dynasty, the administrative and financial centre of half Central Europe, and the seat of a culture and a tradition of art, letters, and learning, with which before the war only London, Paris, and perhaps Berlin could compete. To-day the empire is dissolved and the dynasty in flight; the raw materials of its industry are in alien hands; its financial institutions are in process of liquidation; the public services have collapsed; its superb university is threatened; its art treasures have already been pillaged by one of the Allies—Italy—and have been placed under embargo by the remainder for purposes of reparation; it cannot even find food for so much as one quarter of its population.

‘We are like a tree that has been sapped at the root (an ex-Burgo-master said to the writer early in 1920), and as we are prevented, artificially prevented, from throwing out new roots and drawing life from without, the prospect before us is one of either gradual or rapid, and more probably of rapid, decay. We have been a Paris. We are to become a Berne—maybe a Venice. Can you think what that means to us Viennese, remembering what was and seeing what is? There are those who would rather the city were like Nineveh or Pompeii.’

The attitude of the population under these conditions is a spiritless submission to misfortune, void alike of dignity, of effort and of hope, which is difficult to describe, but once seen can never be forgotten. The plague in the fourteenth century produced a not dissimilar state of mind in Florence; and in Florence too, as in Vienna to-day, one of the surface symptoms of despair was a mad pursuit of pleasure by those in whose hands any wealth remained.

It has been forgotten that it is due to the Allies' decision to forbid Austrian adhesion to Germany that Austria is now left to struggle with her difficulties alone. That adhesion was proclaimed by the Social Democrat Government of Austria immediately after the collapse of the Old Monarchy in November 1918. It was not vetoed by the Allies till some months later. In November 1918 there was a strong party opposed to adhesion. The peasants believed the Emperor would return. The clericals were shy by tradition of the Protestant North. The Jewish financiers (who have never lost their power under the new régime), though hesitant and divided, were inclined to work for a revival of the monarchy on an economic basis in the form of a 'Confederation of the Danube.' (The name, it was thought, would recall the Napoleonic Confederation of the Rhine, and attract French support.) Only the industrial classes, as represented by the Social Democrats, were whole-hearted supporters of the adhesion. Their support was based, not on political aspirations, like the *Grossdeutschland* movement of the first half of the nineteenth century, but on the belief that Austrian industry can be preserved from annihilation only by union with the still powerful industry of Germany.

A year and a half of malnutrition and economic collapse have lent vivid point to this belief, and there are few elements in Austria at the present moment which would not welcome adhesion if it were once again proclaimed. The Danubian Confederation has no longer any Austrian supporters; eighteen months' experience of Czech and Serb policy has not been without its lessons. Only here and there one still meets an advocate of an independent Austria on Swiss lines; but it is becoming increasingly clear that such a State cannot come into being unless the Allies can provide it with credits, access to raw materials, and capital for development, on a scale which

the Allies appear partly unable, partly unwilling, to contemplate. To the 'small man,' as the man in the street is called in Vienna, there is one political consideration uppermost; he knows that in Vienna he is starving, and that in Munich and Berlin they are not.

The situation is not dissimilar to that which succeeded the Revolution in Vienna in 1848. The Socialists, who assumed control when the old Government collapsed in November 1918, are in the same position as the Liberals in 1848, when Metternich and his emperor were in flight. So far as they are representatives of public opinion, it is Viennese opinion; and in the long run Austria is dominated, not by Vienna, but by the provinces. The Restoration in 1849 and the *Los von Wien* movement, which is now to be described, represent alike the resumption by the provinces of their secular control. It is true, a restoration of the Hapsburgs on the lines of 1849 is at present unlikely, not so much because there are no Croats at the disposal of the Emperor Charles, as because restoration would mean a food blockade of Vienna by the Entente. Politics in Vienna revolve round food. The Emperor, or the Mikado, or even President Masaryk, could be in the Hofburg to-morrow, if he were in a position to guarantee a regular service of food trains to Vienna. As they are not in a position to do so, the Hofburg is at present in the occupation of the Inter-Allied Food Mission, and the Vienna Sub-Committee of the Commission of Reparations. Which symbolises effectively the actual situation.

The anti-Viennese movement in the provinces—some call it the *Los von Wien* movement in not very apt allusion to the *Los von Rom* movement of forgotten earlier days—was also in its origin a food question. The provinces are both unable and unwilling to feed Vienna. It was not from the German-Austrian provinces, which alone form part of the new Austria, that Vienna drew its principal food supplies before the collapse, but from South Styria, Carniola, and Croatia (which are now Yugoslav), from Bohemia (which is now Czecho-Slovak), and from Hungary. When these sources of supply were closed, Vienna endeavoured to tap the resources of the remaining provinces to an extent never previously attempted. The procedure was not by way of Government requisitions—

for no Government, since that of the Emperor collapsed, has been powerful enough to requisition in Austria—but by the unorganised efforts of thousands of so-called smugglers (*Schleichhändler*), who invaded the country districts and bought direct from the peasants. The provinces have towns of their own to feed—Graz, capital of Styria, at one time last year went shorter even than Vienna—and they were naturally unwilling to allow their surplus to be drained off to Vienna. Early in 1919 they began to establish a cordon along their provincial frontiers; and a traveller from Styria or Carinthia to Vienna must now submit to more baggage examination than he will have on the journey from Vienna to Paris. The trade still exists because the prices which rich people will pay in Vienna are unlimited; but it is all now 'rucksack-borne,' that is to say, carried in small quantities by individuals on their backs; it dodges the roads and travels by night. It represents of course an enormous waste of economic manpower.

The provincial authorities having established this food cordon were quick to see its possibilities in the political sphere. On the nominal grounds of preventing food smuggling they have instituted a system of 'entry permits' (*Einreisebewilligungen*), which are in everything but the name passports; and these they have used to exclude Socialist speakers and agitators from Vienna. Thus protected against 'infiltration' from the Vienna poison-centre, the provinces ignore or defy the central Government. In the early months of 1919 the Social-Democrat Government in Vienna passed a quantity of 'advanced' measures, amongst which figured prominently the nationalisation of industries. Like the Liberal legislation of 1848, these measures have been tacitly ignored by the provinces. No industries have yet been nationalised in Austria. Conflicts are continual. The Government of Styria, which, having a large industrial population of its own, is particularly sensitive to the 'Bolshevist 'Peril,' in March 1920 expelled certain 'Communist' leaders. The latter brought an action against the Styrian Government before the Supreme Court in Vienna, and won it. The Styrian Government has made no overt comment on the verdict; but the Styrian frontiers are still closed to the successful litigants.

In order more effectively to concert operations against

Vienna, the provincial governments have recently organised inter-provincial conferences, to which neither the city of Vienna nor the province of Lower Austria, in which Vienna is situated, are asked to send representatives. Two such conferences have been held (the last at Linz, capital of Upper Austria) in April 1920; and it is intended to repeat them from time to time. They afford a valuable opportunity for the outside observer to inform himself as to Austrian, as distinct from Viennese, opinion. Those responsible for their organisation have up to now exhibited much tact; and no resolutions calculated openly to affront the Viennese Government—or (which perhaps weighed more with the provincial organisers) to alarm the representatives of the Entente in Vienna—have thus far been passed. The press reports of the discussions have also been much censored. It is necessary to attend the conferences, and to listen to the speakers—sturdy unemotional peasants and black-coated young priests for the most part—to appreciate the significance of this provincial feeling.

The truth is, the ties which used to bind the provinces to Vienna are all snapped. Of the non-material ties, attachment to the dynasty, as Mr. Wickham Steed again and again points out in his well-known book, 'The Hapsburg Monarchy,' was by far the strongest. There was never any attachment to the city of Vienna as such. The Austrian provincial had none of that pride and admiration which the French provincial has for Paris. The prestige of the central Government under the old régime was subtly bound up with the person of the monarch. The public services were not 'Austrian' or 'Hungarian' or 'Austro-Hungarian,' but 'Imperial' or 'Royal' or 'Imperial and Royal.' Every tobacco store, every mail box, every signpost bore the familiar abbreviation of the dual title, 'K.K.' (*kaiserlich und königlich*), and was painted with the Hapsburg colours, black and yellow in diagonal stripes. The black and yellow have largely disappeared now, and would have disappeared still more, if Austria had the oils to manufacture new paint; for the new Austrian Republic affects the colours red and white. In all such ways the severance of the present Viennese administration from the old is made apparent to the provincial eye; and with that severance in the provincial mind goes a termination of old obligations. Under these circumstances, when the central

Government makes any attempt to enforce its authority, the provinces threaten secession.

The secessionist movement has passed beyond the stage of academic propaganda. Three provinces—Vorarlberg, Tyrol, and Salzburg—have openly and formally seceded. Vorarlberg voted for adhesion to Switzerland; the other two for union with Germany. The Entente vetoed their decision, and they were obliged to repudiate it. But the mere word of the Entente will not for ever be all-powerful in the provinces as it is in Vienna, for the reason that the provinces, though they are not quite self-supporting in respect of foodstuffs, are not far off it, whereas the Entente can starve Vienna in a week. It is a quite possible and even a likely development, if events develop further as they are developing now in Austria, that the Entente will find itself obliged to send troops to the secessionist provinces to maintain the supremacy of Vienna and the integrity of the new Republic, which are essential to the St. Germain settlement. The English observer will note in this case, as in the case of all settlements which violate the principle of self-determination, that they are rich in commitments for those who impose them.

II. THE NEW HUNGARY

The reaction in Hungary is a very different matter from the slow reversion to the normal, which is proceeding in Austria. The prestige of authority has been re-established in Hungary with an iron hand, and to the accompaniment of reprisals and excesses, which have left a heavy legacy of difficulties for the future. The old governing class is once again in the saddle, and—strange irony of events!—the Entente, which was originally responsible for its unseating, has in the end been found holding the horse for it to remount. Many of those who know Hungary best believe that no one else can manage the animal. The Hungarian mentality is aristocratic, as the English mentality is aristocratic, and the French or German is not. The governing class in Hungary, as in England, has always up to the present been the strongest factor of social and political development. In both countries it has drawn its strength, not from any mechanism of constitutional privilege, but from the respect, willingly or unwillingly accorded, of the governed.

The Hungarian governing class was evolved during the

nineteenth century out of the landed aristocracy ; and it inherited from the aristocracy a thousand year old tradition of public service. The creation and development of Hungarian industry during the last fifty years has been largely its work ; and it has shown an almost English aptitude for absorbing and assimilating the new industrial elements (largely Jewish) which its policy has called into being. Hungary is the only country in Europe which has an upper middle class in the true English sense of the expression. The division between aristocrat and *bourgeois* is not strongly marked as in Germany. The Hungarian names are family and not place-names ; there is no equivalent of the German 'von.' Beneath the magnates, who correspond to the forty or fifty families of the old English aristocracy—the Howards, Russells, Cavendishes, and so forth—is a wide class ranging from the country gentry who, as in England, mostly bear no titles, to the business and professional men in Budapest. Public opinion is focussed in this class as it used to be in the Victorian upper middle class in England. The lower middle class has not yet emerged in Hungary ; and neither labour nor the peasantry have attained the constructive stage of political thought. The Bolshevist administration of 1919, while it lasted, drew mainly from the upper middle class for its officials ; and there were fortunate individuals—the Minister Garami is an instance—who contrived to retain unbroken office under the Radical régime of Count Karolyi, the Bolshevist Government of Bela Kun, and the reactionary Coalition Government set up by Sir George Clerk. Bolshevism in Hungary was no mighty upheaval from the depths.

This governing class in Hungary did not collapse from its own rottenness, when the old régime was brought down in November 1918. It crashed standing, in the pink of its strength and vitality. It is still suffering from the shock. It fails to take in what has happened. It cannot believe that its old domination over the non-Magyar territories, which, less than two years ago was so real, so long-standing, and—outside the factious atmosphere of Parliament—so unquestioned, has really passed away. A trifling incident, which I witnessed in the autumn of 1919 at Hermannstadt (Sibiu), then the seat of the Transylvanian Government, has impressed itself on my memory. Transylvania is of course now Roumanian ; but it has its own Government, organised in a number of secretariats, which are practically

ministries. It happened to me to be waiting in the ante-room of the Secretary for Commerce, when an official in the uniform of the State railways, a Magyar, came in. He was a Staatsbahnrat, a grade corresponding in the old Austro-Hungarian hierarchy to the military rank of lieutenant-colonel. He walked up to the attendant, who was keeping the door of the secretary's cabinet, and demanded the secretary, with whom he apparently had an appointment, by name. The attendant replied in Roumanian, which had become the official language, that the secretary was engaged at the moment, and that others were waiting too. The Staatsbahnrat interrupted him angrily in Magyar with the words, 'Here one either speaks Hungarian or one brings an interpreter' (*Itten vagy magyarul tessék beszélni vagy pedig tolmácsol jönni*). There was an awed silence in the ante-room, which was only broken when the Hungarian had stalked out of the room banging the door. German Staatsbahnräte are not behaving like this in the ante-rooms of French *préfets* in Alsace! But adversity is powerless to abash the arrogance of what Bismarck called the proudest race in Europe.

It is true that the Magyars have brought all their territorial losses upon themselves by the uncompromising character of their Magyarisation policy in the past. It is true that the chances of any of the lost territories willingly reverting to their allegiance are small, with the possible exception of Slovakia, where eighteen months of Czech rule seem to have succeeded in creating a pro-Magyar sentiment, which the Magyars failed in several centuries to produce. One may feel all this as strongly as the strongest Yugoslavophil or Roumanophil, and at the same time entertain misgivings as to the possibilities of permanence in the present settlement. It is so very drastic, the most drastic of all the territorial settlements which the Conference evolved, the only one on which there was no compromise, no give and take. The Allied claimants received all that they asked for, more in each case than they had expected, and in the case of Czecho-Slovakia (and probably also of Yugoslavia) more even than they had hoped. In the lost territories Hungary has lost all her coal, all her iron, six-sevenths of her timber, and a large part of her most fertile corn districts. If the settlement is perpetuated, it dooms to extinction the whole economic development of Hungary during the past fifty years. It is as if one had said to the England of 1820, 'Wipe out all that has happened since 1770.

'Destroy your new steam engines and your power looms. Pull down your factories. And tell your Yorkshire and Lancashire operatives they can either go back to the land and work for the farmers or emigrate or starve.'

A modern industrial population cannot revert to agriculture. The Hungarian worker cannot emigrate, for neither the United States nor any British Dominion will admit him. And if there is still a proletariat in Central or Western Europe, which in the twentieth century will sit down quietly to the third alternative of starvation, it is assuredly not the fiery Magyar proletariat, fresh from the intoxicating experiments of 1919. What form their assertion of the 'right to live' will take—such is already the catchword of the Hungarian Labour Press—it would be rash at the moment to prophesy. But that its repercussions will be felt in the field of foreign politics seems certain. The sign of Hungarian labour is war.

III. CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

The Peace Conference, having acclaimed the break-up of Hungary in the name of the principle of nationalities, proceeded to create a new Hungary in the interest of the Czechs. Mr. Wickham Steed, in 'The Hapsburg Monarchy,' used to make great play with the ten languages which figured on every Austro-Hungarian bank-note. The new Czecho-Slovak notes have four languages (Czech, German, Slovak, and Magyar); and if the minorities were represented as they were in the old Austria, there would be six. The latest figures of the population, prepared for the 1920 elections, show the following percentages :—

Czecho-Slovakia.	Population in Thousands.	Percentage of Total.
Czechs - - - -	6,354	49
Germans - - - -	3,639	28·5
Slovaks - - - -	1,779	13·5
Magyars - - - -	797	6
Poles - - - -	254	2
Ruthenes (Ukrainians) - -	162	1
	12,985	100

Thus the Czechs and Slovaks taken together total 62·5 per cent. of the population, that is to say, a clear majority. But, if the Slovaks are not reckoned in with the dominant race, the Czechs alone amount to just under half the total population, which is approximately the percentage of the Magyars in the old Hungary. If such Czech imperialist projects as the 'corridor' to Yugoslavia or the annexation of Serb Lusatia had been realised at the Peace Conference, the Czech percentage would have been still smaller. Of the minorities in Czecho-Slovakia, the Germans have a much greater economic significance than any of the minorities in the old Hungary. The minorities in Hungary were in the main peasants; the Germans in Bohemia represent a great part of the lifeblood of Bohemian industry.

Perhaps the best way to describe the Czechs to the British public is to say that they are the Belgians of Central Europe. They are the *bourgeois* amongst the Slavonic races. They are to the Russians what the Belgians are to the French. They have the *bourgeois* faults, but also the *bourgeois* virtues. They are hard, thrifty, and tenacious workers. The best servants in Vienna have always been Czechs. In industry and commerce they are strong individualists, with deep-rooted beliefs in the sanctity of private property and the inevitability of the existing economic system. The French attitude towards Czecho-Slovakia is unassailable, at any rate in respect of the view that the Czech soil is the last in which Bolshevism is likely to take root. The educational standard is high. The peasants are richer than they have ever been before. It is estimated that the war profits of agriculture in Bohemia and Moravia have paid off the whole of the land mortgages, which have hung like a millstone round the neck of the peasant in those countries since the Economic Revolution of the middle of the last century. In all these respects the conditions seem highly favourable to an industrial development in the future comparable to that which Belgium achieved in the nineteenth century. Such was the view adopted by the Peace Conference. In accordance with it the Allies proceeded to create a 'strong' Czecho-Slovakia, as they had created a 'strong' Poland and a 'strong' Roumania—that is to say, they decided this was one of those cases where the principles of nationality and self-determination must be overridden, and

proceeded to attach to the new State such territory and such populations as were required to give it control of the mineral resources of this part of Central Europe, an almost inexhaustible supply of the finest timber in Europe and a corridor to the Danube which involved a clear violation of Hungarian nationality.

The experience of a year and a half has thrown into greater relief the difficulties in the way of the execution of this policy. It is becoming apparent everywhere in Central and Eastern Europe that annexations of territory and population are not *per se* accessions of strength. The strength of States is a product of internal and not external forces. Only the Czecho-Slovaks can make a strong Czecho-Slovakia: and their chances of achievement depend, not only—and perhaps not principally—on the material resources which they can command, but on their moral capacity for exploiting them. Such capacity is not a product of purely economic ability; it presupposes certain political virtues.

It is early as yet to judge. Great economic prosperity, if it comes, will probably go far of itself alone to reconcile the annexed minorities to Czech rule. For the moment, however, it cannot be said that the Czech officials have made a happy beginning with their task. Men who, for years past, have headed the Slovak resistance to the Magyars, are either lying in a Czech jail (like Father Hlinka), or have been driven into exile (like Father Jehlička) at Budapest. When they came to Paris to put the case for Slovak independence before the Conference, it was by the aid of false names and forged Polish passports. In Carpathian Ruthenia, as the Ukranian districts annexed from North-East Hungary are now officially called, a National Council which declared its independence has had to be suppressed, and Czech is being introduced as the official language, 'pending 'the adjustment of language in the sense of Article XI. of the 'agreement drawn up on 10th September 1919 at St. Germain.' Pressburg (Poszony), now called Bratislava, a town whose associations for the Magyars are similar to those of Canterbury for the English, is occupied by 15,000 Czech troops, whom it is found necessary to relieve in detachments every fortnight. There is a famous passage in 'The Stones of Venice,' which describes the Austrian band playing in the Piazza of St. Mark in the days before 1866 to drown the voices of sedition. The

atmosphere of Pressburg, with a half-Magyar, half-German population, is something like this.

As for the German Bohemians, an element (it must be remembered) which is not immigrant, but as indigenous in Bohemia as the Czechs, they have been driven into an irreconcilable and panic-stricken opposition, for which at the time of the collapse of the old régime they were not predisposed, and which the Czechs in their own interest simply cannot afford. Perhaps the best measure of the political inability of the present rulers of Czecho-Slovakia is to be found in the fact that in the Parliament they have driven the German-Bohemian Socialists into the arms of the German-Bohemian *bourgeois* groups—a development which nothing but a racial policy of the most insensate intransigence could ever have made possible. Since the fall from power of Dr. Kramař and some other politicians, much more consideration has been shown to the German-Bohemians in the political arena; but the petty persecution of the German language in everyday life in Prague is still galling and ubiquitous.

IV. YUGOSLAVIA

Vienna and Budapest are bad places for English or Americans to live in just now. The helplessness of the Austrian and the despair of the Magyar each in its own way create an atmosphere which is unhealthy to breathe for long. Prague is healthier. There is nothing morbid or desperate about the Czechs. But Budapest and Vienna exercise a mephitic influence upon the Anglo-Saxon, whom business or official missions have taken to live there during the past eighteen months, an influence comparable to that which one used to associate with long years of residence in the Levant. In their impossible atmosphere the Anglo-Saxon instinct for realities weakens, and the mind begins to indulge illusions and dreams. The first and commonest symptom is a disposition to sigh for the order and amenities of the old monarchy, and to dream of its reconstruction on some economic basis, such as the alluring project of the Danubian Federation. Even in Prague there are elements, not the most vocal but not the least powerful, by which such illusions are cherished. It is only when one comes to Yugoslavia that one realises beyond questioning that the day for such illusions is

irrevocably gone by. In Yugoslavia one recovers one's grip of realities. There is nothing unreal or impossible or artificial about Yugoslavia. The new Austria, the new Hungary, and Czecho-Slovakia are all 'Conference States,' artificial creations drawing their life in greater or less degree from without, like 'Congress Poland' or the 'United Netherlands' of 1815-30. Yugoslavia is not a 'Conference State'; it is not a creation of the Allies. Whatever else may be said of the Yugoslav movement—and opinions at this stage naturally differ as to its significance and prospects—it is at any rate a national movement having its origins within, and not without, the peoples whose destiny it affects.

For the traveller who knew the Yugoslav lands before the war, or for the student of Mr. Seton-Watson's writings, the first and dominant impression to-day is the displacement of Zagreb (Agram) by Belgrade. My first visit to Zagreb fell in 1909 at the time of the treason trials which Mr. Seton-Watson has made famous in his 'Southern Slav Question.' I did not revisit the town, except for a few hours as a tourist, till the spring of 1919. Such a change of atmosphere as I found on my last visit, I could not have believed possible. An air of sad futility has come over the pleasant little Croat town; a sense of 'has-been' or 'might-have-been' pervades the whole social and political atmosphere. In 1909 Zagreb was the Rome of the Yugoslav movement, the seat of its philosophy and the centre of its politics. The politicians who declaimed and conspired in its cafés were confident in themselves, and in the Greater Croatia for which they were scheming, and their proceedings drew actuality and dramatic interest, and even a certain dignity, from the consciousness which the principals in the scene were never without, that sooner or later there would come to them, as to Jellačić in 1848, a moment when they would hold in their hands the fate of the Hapsburg dynasty, and with it of the half of Central Europe.

Zagreb stands to-day in Yugoslavia where Munich stood in Germany after 1866. The battle for the leadership in Yugoslavia has been decided irrevocably in favour of the Serbs. The feelings of the Bavarian for the Prussian during the first generation of German Unity are the feelings of the

Croat for the Serb to-day. The Croat officers who burned with shame at the murder of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand on Bosnian soil in 1914, the Croat regiments who marched with bands playing and colours flying into Belgrade in 1915, the host of Croat officials who have drawn their bread and salt from the Hapsburgs in the administration of the Yugoslav countries during the war—all these will not readily forget a long, deep-rooted, and honourable tradition.

The market place at Zagreb is dominated by the statue of Jellačić, the loyal Croat officer, whose life-work was the preservation of the Hapsburg Monarchy in 1848. 'Austrian' feeling—in the sense which the word 'Austrian' bore in 1848—is still strong in the town. German is the common language of conversation of the upper classes and of many of the officials. Some of the shops and cafés display a placard, which has been widely distributed, bearing the laconic exhortation, HRVACKI GOVORI ('*Speak Croat*'); but there is no petty persecution of the German language or newspapers such as is so disagreeably apparent in Prague. Only the Magyar has disappeared. The Austro-Hungarian uniforms are still everywhere seen, generally with an S.H.S. badge or favour in the cap, but occasionally without. Those who have discarded the Austro-Hungarian uniform affect the Russian-looking cap which has been evolved for the officers of the non-Serb divisions. The characteristic Serb cap and tunic are rarely seen in Zagreb, except on such Serb troops as may be quartered in the town or passing through. Zagreb is, and will remain for at least a generation, particularist. She will jealously conserve the differences—personal, social, and religious—which distinguish her people from the dominant Serbs. But when all this has been said, and full allowance has been made for the effect which such an attitude must inevitably have in shaping the constitutional development of Yugoslavia, it remains nevertheless true that the centre of gravity in Yugoslavia has shifted, and the Croats know it. The unity, which poets and politicians once dreamed of accomplishing under the ægis of Croatia, has been brought into being by another. The future of Zagreb is henceforward bound up with Belgrade.

It is astonishing to what an extent the ingercence of Belgrade

is already tolerated. The best illustration of the dominance of Belgrade is the story of the land reforms promulgated by the Belgrade Government at the beginning of 1919. These reforms aim at the assimilation of the land tenure in all the Yugoslav lands to that which prevails in Serbia; they are based on the principle that no one should own more land than he is able to cultivate with the aid of his family. In an agricultural country like Yugoslavia such a measure amounts to a reconstruction of the whole social order. Its immediate effect in Croatia was to dispossess by a stroke of the pen a large number of big, and a still larger number of medium, landholders, with no more solatium than they could extract from an affirmation of the principle of compensation, 'the amount thereof hereafter to be determined.' The reforms were, as was to be expected, bitterly resented by the classes affected, but the only step which the dispossessed proprietors had up to then felt capable of taking in opposition, was the laying of a petition at the feet of the Prince Regent—a step which left the position precisely where it was before. Since then the political situation has changed, and the application of the reforms has been for a variety of reasons delayed. But nowhere has it at any time been suggested that Croatia might reject them.

The attitude of the Roumanians in Transylvania towards their new capital Bucharest is very different, and Bucharest is far more deferential to subordinate provinces than is Belgrade, Cluj (Kolozsvár), the present seat of the Transylvanian provincial Government, is far more independent than Zagreb, and there are plenty of Transylvanian politicians who aspire to making Transylvania the centre of the new Roumania.

To return to Yugoslavia, the Slovenes are far more independent than the Croats. They too have accepted the land reforms, but they will apply them through their own officials, and on lines to be laid down by their own administration. Slovenia is the least known, but not the least interesting of the Yugoslav lands. If separatism were ever to obtain a foothold in Yugoslavia, it would be at the Slovene capital, Ljubljana (Laibach), rather than at Zagreb. The Yugoslav idea is indeed new in Slovenia, and perhaps not very deep-rooted as yet amongst the Slovene peasants, who have no tradition of dis-

content with Austrian rule, like the anti-Magyar tradition of the Croats. The idea has however strong support from the influential Slovene clergy. The Prince-Archbishop Jeglič came over openly to the cause of Yugoslav unity in the summer of 1919, several months before the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and his influence is now very powerful in Ljubljana, though it is not obtrusive.

The analogy of Croatia with Southern Germany after 1866 has another aspect which no traveller can fail to observe, for it dominates with painful intensity all other impressions. The Yugoslavs without distinction of tribe or creed are waiting for their 1870. They have suddenly become conscious, as the Germans became conscious after the struggle with Austria, that only a successful war against a foreign menace can fix and perpetuate the unity for which they are craving. And no Yugoslav is in any doubt as to the quarter from which this foreign menace is impending. In the preparation, which is going silently—one would almost say sullenly—forward, the Southern Slavs are accepting without demur or qualification the guidance and domination of the Serb military chiefs, as Saxony, Wurtemberg, and Bavaria accepted the dominance of Prussia in the four fateful years between Sadowa and Sedan. There is, as it were, a hush in this part of Europe, broken only by the shrill screams of the Italian propagandists on the one hand, or by outbursts of suppressed passion on the other, like that which greeted d'Annunzio's *coup* at Fiume in the early part of last year.

It has been the writer's fortune during the past year to travel in almost every country of Central and Eastern Europe with the exception of Bolshevik Russia and Germany. The political and economic situation varies greatly in the several countries. Some, like Poland, are imperialistic; others, like Austria, are for peace at any price. But whatever the attitude of the Governments, the situation in one and all of these countries is dominated by the 'war-weariness' of the governed and the consequent impossibility of a renewal of war on the national scale of the past five years. Only in Yugoslavia is this impression of war-weariness lacking, and the absence of it to a traveller arriving suddenly in one of the Yugoslav countries from Vienna or Galicia is arresting and disquieting.

I was by chance present at some of the operations of the Slovene troops against Klagenfurt in May 1919. The troops engaged on the Yugoslav side were at this time taken exclusively from the Save and Drave divisions, two new divisions formed under ex-Austrian officers, mostly of Croat nationality, after the collapse in November 1918. The rank and file of the infantry were mainly Slovenes from Slovenia proper, that is to say from Carniola; but there were a number of volunteers—I believe two complete battalions—from Istria and Trieste. These volunteers were young troops, mostly of the *intelligentsia* class, and had not given a very good account of themselves against the Carinthian Volkswehr. They had little stomach for this fighting. They were well aware that Klagenfurt was a German town; and they had not had agreeable experiences in Marburg, another German town, which was given them by the Armistice. Even in the Slav villages which lie between Marburg and Klagenfurt they had not been particularly pleased with their reception. The peasants of that region talk a dialect which is rather Wendish than South Slav, and liberators and liberated (as I myself witnessed) are frequently reduced to the ignominious position of communicating with one another in German.

Travelling in a troop train with a party of these volunteers, I fell into conversation with them. The talk and the thought of all these young men was of 'The War,' by which they did not mean the campaign upon which they were actually engaged. Some of them had formed a secret society—on the best Serb model—the members of which take an oath to free all Istria from the Italians or die. They may call themselves *četasis*, which is Slav for *komitajis*, and they wear a skull and cross-bones with a red and black ribbon on their left breast. I had quite a long talk with one of these *četasis*, a boy of eighteen, bearing a very well-known Triestine name, who appeared to have a remarkable influence with his companions. He was an original youth with a considerable sense of humour. One of his mannerisms was to affect in conversation that unpleasant but characteristic expletive of the Italian common soldier, '*Porca Madonna!*' The whole of his company had picked up this expression. '*Porca Madonna!*' had become a kind of comedian's gag amongst these young Yugoslavs, which never failed to raise a laugh. I reproduce from my diary some notes of my conversa-

tion with this young man (whom I will call Dušan) and his companions.

'After the usual transports of surprise at finding a Croat-speaking Westerner:—

'*Dušan.* "What does the Conference mean to do about Klagenfurt?"

'*Myself.* "I do not make politics. I cannot say. Klagenfurt is outside the Armistice line, is it not?"

'*Dušan.* "The Armistice line!" (*Laughter from the others.*) "Do you know there used to be Slav Dukes in Klagenfurt, elected by the people on a democratic basis? The Austrians brought in the German settlers, and abolished the Ducal elections."

'*Myself.* "When was all this?" (*Discussion as to whether it was the twelfth, thirteenth, or fourteenth century.*) *Myself, interrupting.* "Anyway, it must have been about the same time that Calais belonged to the English. Did you know that Calais used to belong to the English? Well! It did: and when the French finally took it, the English Queen, Marija, said that when she died the word CALAIS would be found written on her heart."

'*Dušan.* "*Lijepo! Lijepo!* (What a lovely story!) And was it?"

'*Myself.* "I have not heard. But it is certain that no one in England wishes to make war on France in order to make Calais English again."

'*A Friend of Dušan.* "When we have taken Klagenfurt, we mean to make it Slav again. Who is going to prevent us? The Entente has no troops here."

'*Dušan (to me).* "You yourself do not sympathise with this campaign?"

'*Myself.* "I do not wish to answer Yes or No. It is true the Entente has no troops here. But it is otherwise in the Adriatic. Perhaps you will lose in the Adriatic what you gain here. Which is the more important for you? The French have a proverb, He who embraces too much has a bad hold."

'*Dušan.* "I think the Englishman is partly right about this war. It is not on the Germans that we should be making war, but on the Italians. This war is a distraction from the main object."

'A silence.'

The dispute about Fiume has obscured the magnitude of the issues between the two races. It is not a question, as the Conference sought to persuade itself, of the sovereignty of this or that town or island, but of the future of the whole east coast of the Adriatic. Italy for commercial as well as strategical reasons desires that the Adriatic should be an Italian lake, as in effect it has been since the disappearance of the Austro-Hungarian navy. This is essentially a negative policy. It aims

at keeping the eastern littoral undeveloped, so as not to threaten the Italian harbours on the western littoral. It cannot be otherwise. No Italian Government will ever be found to condemn Venice and Brindisi and Bari to ruin by developing non-Italian or semi-Italian ports across the water. The Italian ports are not strong enough to bear the competition of Trieste and Fiume and a developed Valona. They were losing ground steadily to the two first named before the war; and they have hailed the present eclipse of these with acclamation. The Yugoslav policy must necessarily be the antithesis of that of the Italians. The Adriatic is the only seaboard which the Yugoslavs possess, and they necessarily wish to develop it. It is a positive policy opposed to a negative policy; conflict between the two cannot ultimately be avoided.

There is no Bismarck behind the welter of political struggles at Belgrade: but there is an army with a General Staff, and the latter is one of the most impressive phenomena in Central Europe to-day. There is a sense of silence and controlled power about Serbian militarism which reminds one irresistibly of the Moltke tradition. But the General Staff is not ready for the next war yet; and all the influence of General Pešić with the Prince Regent and with the Foreign Office is understood to have been thrown, in at least two moments of crisis during the past twelve months, on the side of conciliation. How long will it remain on that side?

No one who studies the history of German Unity can fail to see that there are times when a nation willingly submits to militarism. It is not necessary in such cases to assume motives of political aggression or to suggest the intoxication of arms. Neither factor was operative to any great extent in 1870. What then bound Germany together was the instinct which Bismarck put into words in his appeal to 'blood and iron.' The world is trying hard to think to-day in terms of another and an easier philosophy; but there are those who believe that the Bismarckian saying will outlive all other international philosophies.

SOVIET GOVERNMENT IN RUSSIA

THE history of the internal politics of Russia since the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904 still remains sufficiently obscure to render it almost impossible to assess very accurately the forces which led to the Revolution of March 1917. It is not surprising that the Bolshevik *coup d'état* of October of the same year should stand yet more remote from our comprehension. Such official records and documents as have reached us since the date of the Revolution will scarcely enable us to deduce any stable conclusions concerning the existing régime in Russia. Even to the student who attempts to maintain an impartial point of view there arises the final and momentous difficulty that all spoken pronouncements and written statements emanating from the Bolshevik authorities are avowedly put forward either in the spirit of propaganda or as a justification of the theory of this new form of Government.

The reflex of the Russian Revolution amongst the Western centres of Socialist and Labour sympathies in 1917 was instantaneous and far-reaching. Its immediate consequence was a clear acceleration of the process of fusion between the various Socialist schools of thought and the Labour movement taken as a whole. At the present time the Western admirers of the Russian Revolution have, to a very great extent, renounced any outspoken approval of the violence attendant on the passing of the old order of things in that country. Nevertheless their faith in the ultimate universal rise to power of the proletariat in all countries is such, that any account of the work of the Russian Soviet administration which does not redound to the credit of the latter is regarded by them with suspicion, even if it be not straightway rejected as worthless.

The most prolific source of discord amongst critics of Russian affairs in this country—and these are now nearly as numerous as parliamentary electors—arises out of the accounts of barbarities which are alleged to be of daily occurrence within the confines of the late Russian Empire. It is therefore

necessary to omit all reference to this aspect of the case and to conduct any examination of the work of the Russian Soviets from the standpoint of the investigator into modern systems of government. The Russian Soviet system should be judged by what it has contributed, is contributing, or appears likely to contribute towards the attainment of a better social order.

The term 'Bolshevik,' from an historical and etymological standpoint, merely signifies the numerical superiority of one faction over another at a certain occasion in the past, and contains no definition of political views. It was first employed as a label to differentiate the majority from the minority at the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party held in 1903. The faction of the extreme left happened to form the majority or 'bolshinstvo,' subsequently called 'Bolsheviki,' in opposition to the minority of more moderate Socialists known as 'Mensheviki.' The latter employed the term as a derisive nickname which has since assumed the arbitrary meaning of 'extremist' or 'wild man,' to use popular phraseology. It is now almost universally applied to all supporters of the Soviet Government of Russia, and appears to have been generally recognised by them and their adherents in other countries.

The Russian Revolution forms the culmination of the Social-Democratic movement in Russia, which, though hydra-headed in outward semblance, and combining within itself forces often mutually antagonistic in principles, acquired its great strength from the union of all the opponents of the autocratic rule of the old Imperial Government. The birth of the movement took place in 1898, when representatives of the various socialistic organisations then existing in Russia met together at Minsk and founded 'The Social-Democratic Labour Party.' In spite of the repressive measures enforced against it by the Imperial Government, the progress of the movement was attended by considerable success.

The second Congress of the party took place in July and August of 1903, first at Brussels and later in London, with the intention of formulating a party programme designed to achieve the creation of a Democratic Republic and a Constituent Assembly. A fundamental divergence of policy and aims between the different groups became apparent, and eventually

brought about a definite breach between the extremists under Lenin (otherwise V. Ulianov) and the moderates under Martov. Though both parties professed to found their policy on the principles of international socialism as formulated by Karl Marx, the methods of attaining their ends were so divergent as to be irreconcilable.

Martov's party advocated a democratic programme under which the bourgeoisie's right to existence was, at least provisionally, conceded, and an alliance with them for the overthrow of Imperialism advocated. They also insisted on the independence of local organisations.

Lenin and his followers, on the other hand, definitely repudiated at the Congress of 1903 this interpretation of the principles of democracy, and demanded the complete domination of the State by the proletariat. Their policy aimed at an entire extinction of the bourgeois class, the suppression of independent local activities, and the consequent centralisation of power in the Executive Committee of the administration.

During the Revolution of 1906 an abortive attempt at reunion between the parties was made, but it ultimately resulted in their severance becoming more complete. The natural consequence was that the respective policies of the two opposing factions acquired a more extreme emphasis. Finally, after the Revolution of March 1917 the Mensheviks became still more definitely democratic, and have since championed the cause of personal liberty and of freedom of speech, largely owing to the measures taken by their opponents to suppress their newspapers and to exclude their leaders from the Soviets. The Bolsheviks, on the other hand, have gravitated further and further to the other extreme, and have concentrated their efforts on the immediate establishment of communism by drastic and arbitrary legislation and corresponding administrative action. They have been reinforced by Anarchists, Nihilists, and all those to whose passion for gain and rapine the exploitation of troubled times and the enforcement of such a programme presented a unique opportunity.

The Revolution of March 1917 was precipitated by an accidental and unnatural collusion between three opposing elements—the autocratic party, the bourgeoisie, and the working classes. Autocratic officialdom was not averse from provoking

a premature outburst of the inevitable storm so as to crush it at the outset by repressive measures of the utmost severity. The bourgeoisie, under Miliukov, at first attempted to stem the tide of revolution and thus frustrate the provocative tactics of the autocracy, but subsequently realised their impotence to restrain the opposing forces. They consequently threw in their lot with the revolutionaries in the hope of securing the reins of Government and ensuring a more active prosecution of the war.

As soon as the Revolution became an accomplished fact, the revolutionary Executive Committee of the Duma, then mainly representative of the bourgeois party, assumed control and appointed a Provisional Government. This was accompanied by the creation of Soviets (the Russian word for Councils) composed of workmen, soldiers, and sailors throughout Russia. The Soviets grew up in a very haphazard manner and were originally intended to fulfil the duties of guarding the fruits of the Revolution against reaction.

The representative character of the Provisional Government of 1917 was contested from the outset by the Petrograd Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies. This Soviet was of importance for several reasons: firstly, it influenced very considerably the garrison of the capital and the whole Baltic Fleet, which was penned up close to the capital; secondly, it was supported by a large industrial population, embittered by low conditions of life, and therefore vehemently opposed to the Government; thirdly, it formed the rallying point for all returning exiled extremists; lastly, it contained the bulk of the intellectuals who had absorbed all the promises held out by extreme Socialist and Anarchist theory.

The part played during, and since, the Revolution by this Soviet places Petrograd, with regard to Russia, on much the same level as Paris stood to the rest of France during the years following 1789. There exists a further resemblance between the tendency to violence of the Petrograd populace and the destructive passion of the Parisian mob then and during the Commune of 1871.

The authority of the Provisional Government was mainly centred in the person of Kerensky, a Labour member and a patriotic nationalist. His magnetic though unbalanced

personality succeeded in rekindling much of the waning ardour of the army and appeared to promise some degree of permanence to his Government. But the unfortunate results attending the Russian campaigns of 1917 were destined to wreck his new administration. The general slackening of discipline, initiated by the Revolution and intensified by the utter war weariness of the nation, soon destroyed all recrudescence of patriotic activity, and the defection of the army to the side of the Soviets steadily increased.

The internecine struggle for power continued to grow during the summer and autumn of 1917 and finally developed into civil war, in which Kerensky gained the military support of Korniloff and Kaledin. But the nation had turned to the extremists for peace. The contest culminated in October 1917 in the defeat and flight of Kerensky and the overthrow of the Provisional Government of the Duma.

At this period also the differences between the Bolshevik and Menshevik factions grew more acute. The political pendulum was swinging towards its extreme limit and the Mensheviks, by advocating a compromise with the bourgeoisie, were overwhelmed in the latter's defeat and have ever since ceased to exert any further political influence owing to their exclusion from the Soviets.

The Bolsheviks exploited to the full the chaos then reigning in Russia. Their influence in the Petrograd Soviet proved an invaluable starting place to them. Through that Soviet they controlled the Red Guard, a distinctly destructive organisation of communistic and anarchistic proclivities, which was not averse from living by what in common parlance would be termed rapine and loot. The Bolsheviks next appealed for the support of the Russian nation at large, on the plea that they desired to summon the Constituent Assembly in order to decide upon the future form of government for Russia. The Assembly was convened, after being elected under the auspices of the Soviets. It met, but the Bolsheviks, finding themselves in a minority, adjourned its sittings and proceeded to establish their rule without further appeal to the nation.

Lenin then evolved and imposed upon Russia his new Constitution. Finding the idea of the Soviet firmly established in the national mind he was unable, after having so vigorously

advanced the claims of the Soviets, to disown them in his system of Government. Accordingly the Soviets came to be adopted as the units both of administration and of representation, and were loosely combined into a Federal Republican Union. The new Commonwealth is thus nominally a federation of small units.

The first important act of the Soviet Republic was the negotiation of a peace with Germany. The attitude of the Bolsheviks towards both the Allied and Central Powers was purely opportunist, and was conceived solely with a view to the universal triumph of their own doctrine, which was to arise like a phoenix from the ashes of the European War. Lenin has since confessed that his invitation to the belligerent nations to conclude peace was insincere, as he calculated that the capitalist Governments would not entertain it. The failure of the proposal was intended to disappoint the proletariats of the West, and thereby inflame them against their rulers so that the war of States should be converted into a war of classes. Nevertheless a separate peace with Germany had to be concluded at all costs in order to popularise the Bolshevik rule in Russia. That country was then in a mood to accept and tolerate any Government which would bring it out of the war.

But the Bolsheviks also anticipated and hoped that the war would be protracted to an exhausting and indefinite conclusion, and thereby convert the whole of Europe into fruitful soil for the growth of the Soviet State. Consequently the attitude assumed by the Soviet Government towards the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk should not be accepted at its face value any more than its other public utterances in which there is always an *arrière-pensée* as to effective propaganda.

Down to May 1918 the Bolshevik policy was almost purely destructive. Compromise and conciliation finding no place in the Bolshevik creed, suppression or extermination was the only fate which awaited the opponents of the Revolution. Under this heading were included all those who were not its active supporters. Since May 1918 considerable efforts have been made to organise a constructive policy, which will be dealt with later. As a matter of fact the activities of the Soviet Government during this latter period have been chiefly absorbed by the need of consolidating its administration and power in

Russia and by organising military resistance to its enemies on its frontiers. The Bolsheviks have also maintained a regular outflow of propaganda into the rest of the world. The comparative decline of violent methods does not however argue any disinclination on the part of the Bolshevik administration to resort to them, but rather indicates an increasing scarcity of opponents in those districts where the Bolshevik régime is paramount.

Armed opposition to the Government both by national and foreign forces has been constant, but on the whole it has been devoid of that strategic unity of effort on which success depends. Apart from foreign intervention, many national leaders have attempted to rally and organise the dispossessed and anti-Bolshevik elements in Russia. The only instances which proved a serious menace to the Soviet Government were the campaigns of Admiral Kolchak in the East, that of General Denikin in the South, and the latest Finnish advance on Petrograd.

Unfortunately for himself, Kolchak ruthlessly employed the Bolsheviks' own methods of violence and terror. Fear of retribution and the defection of a large section of the peasantry had a paralysing and disintegrating effect on the Bolshevik forces and on those of their opponents in turn. Scarcity of food frequently controlled the situation. The Soviet administration at one moment appeared to be living from hand to mouth, whilst soon after it was seen emerging more or less successfully from its many entanglements. Local revolutions in rear of the armies of either side were constant; regiments appear to have deserted from one side to another. In the end all these anti-Bolshevik movements collapsed, owing chiefly to the internal weaknesses which destroyed each of them in turn.

Throughout the last two years the personality of Lenin has dominated the Soviet Republic. Lenin is a Russian, an embittered revolutionary, relentless, and highly intellectual. The outbreak of the Revolution had afforded him an opportunity of returning to his native land. He immediately took control of the Bolshevik party, and after the overthrow of the Kerensky Government became, and still is, the principal power in Russia. He is the statesman and idealist of the Bolshevik policy, of which Trotsky is the executive organiser. Trotsky, whose true name is Braunstein, is a Jew, as are most of the present leaders

of Soviet Russia. He is really a convert to the Soviet doctrine and at one time was the leader of a small party which vacillated between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. His capacity for work is enormous and his administrative ability considerable. His mental perspective is however limited to the immediate horizon of practical issues, and in this respect he does not compare with his chief. Their combination is that of thought and action.

There still exists a widespread suspicion that these men are, or were, in the pay of Germany and working for the interests of that country. Such a view argues an entire misconception of their character and purpose. There is no direct evidence that they have been helped by German money. Even if they have been there can be no doubt that any financial assistance they may have received from Germany or any other country has been used solely in the interests of Bolshevism, to which cause their interests and ambitions are confined. It would be on this account that they may have received some German assistance—whether of personnel, material, or money, is difficult to say—towards the conduct of the military operations against the enemies of the Soviet Republic.

In the case of any honest and rational form of Government, the relation between the practical policy it pursues and the ultimate aim it professes to have in view should at least be theoretically demonstrable. But in the case of the Bolshevik Government the relation between the two is almost impossible to define. At the commencement of the Bolshevik régime it was urged by Lenin himself that the arbitrary measures favoured by the Bolshevik Government were a temporary expedient calculated to bring into being the communist State as outlined in the Soviet Constitution. Of late however both Lenin and Trotsky have openly stated that the communist era cannot be inaugurated for a generation, and report adds that they have now begun to express doubts as to the possibility of that era ever coming into being. This fact, coupled with the methods pursued by the Bolsheviks in seizing the administrative powers of the State, must lay open to grave suspicion the sincerity of their intentions. It is significant that the Bolsheviks are even coquetting with foreign capitalists with a view to maintaining their position in Russia with assistance from abroad.

The Soviet Constitution is based on no new political doctrines. Its communistic programme is the outcome of the international socialism of Karl Marx, and may be described as an exaggerated version of his teachings. It has been further influenced by the philosophic anarchism of Prince Kropotkin, coupled with the humanitarian teaching of Tolstoy. This combination of Russian and Marxian influences produces two partially distinct conceptions :—

(i.) The reorganisation of the whole country as a communistic State, having the primitive village community, managed by its own Soviet, as the ideal administrative unit.

(ii.) The reorganisation of the industrial population, in accordance with the ideals of modern syndicalism, the Soviet, in this case, managing the factory and regulating the life of the worker.

Industrial conditions play a relatively small part in Russian life, since the vast majority of the population is engaged in agrarian pursuits. But the industrial and urban workers have been more influenced by revolutionary socialism, and on that account are held in greater respect by the Bolsheviks, who have undoubtedly secured a large measure of support from them. The Bolsheviks have sought the allegiance of the peasants by breaking up large properties for the benefit of the small cultivator ; they have appealed to the industrial workers by destroying capitalist ownership.

The ground-work of the Soviet system may thus be summarised as follows :—

(i.) The abolition of the privileged classes and the destruction of capitalism.

(ii.) Universal communism, *i.e.*, the equal distribution of wealth, work, etc., among the whole population.

(iii.) The abolition of the present divisions and distinctions between one nation and another, and the consequent union of all workers in a communistic brotherhood.

The Bolshevik Utopia is therefore a purely communistic State, or rather a communistic world, in which the administrative control would be almost entirely decentralised and local. All Government would cease to exist except in the form of a 'Central Statistical Bureau' to preserve the balance of employment, production, distribution, etc. In this particular the Soviet

ideal forms a departure from previous socialistic schemes of Government where the Central Executive Authority is an important organism vested with immense power, as a necessary result of State ownership or State control.

The Revolution of 1789 in France affords no parallel to this programme. The doctrine of the 'return to nature' led to no such administrative experiment as has been essayed in Russia, even though much of the humanitarian teaching which stimulated the Russian revolutionaries before 1904 can find its counterpart in French eighteenth-century literature. The contrast is probably due to the fact that the autocratic régime of Tzarism had evoked a strong reaction against all forms of central government. Hence the necessity for the Bolsheviks to accept the Soviets as part of their administrative machinery. A similar mistrust and dislike of centralised government is not altogether unknown in Great Britain at the present time.

The present methods of Soviet administration represent in many respects the exact opposite of the ideal held out in the theory of the Soviet State. In spite of the existence of the local Soviets, the real control is firmly centred in the Central Executive Committee, whose rule is as arbitrary and despotic as that of the late imperial autocracy. Its repressive tactics are prosecuted with the utmost severity and violate every principle of personal liberty by methods previously associated with reactionary despotism.

This discrepancy between theory and practice is acknowledged by the Bolsheviks themselves and excused on the ground of opportunist necessity. Such inconsistency is so open and unashamed as almost to evoke in some quarters the respect due to honest integrity. As already stated, the present rulers of Russia have not even scrupled to make overtures to foreign capitalists with a view to extricating themselves from the financial chaos in which they are involved.

The structure of the Soviet organisation will here be described in the manner in which it is supposed to operate—from the bottom upwards, though in this, as in most of its aspects, theory and practice are not in accord.

The electorate is composed of all persons of either sex over the age of eighteen (though this age limit may be reduced by

consent of the Central Authority) who comply with the following requirements :—

- (i.) All workers who do not employ hired labour for their own profit.
- (ii.) Soldiers and sailors.
- (iii.) Those of the above classes who have lost the power of working.

Those excluded from the franchise are :—

- (i.) All employers of labour for their own profit.
- (ii.) All who live on income not derived from their own labour, *i.e.*, those who live on interest derived from property or investments.
- (iii.) Private business men, agents, middlemen.
- (iv.) Ecclesiastics.
- (v.) Members of the imperial family or their late servants.
- (vi.) Lunatics, convicted criminals.
- (vii.) Any person who incurs the odium of the Republic.

Soviets, *i.e.*, councils or committees of workmen's and soldiers' delegates, are elected in every township, village, or rural district * for the purpose of local administration. The delegates to the Soviet are elected quarterly. In addition, every factory and every encampment of troops is empowered to elect a Soviet for the discussion and administration of its own affairs. Every Soviet selects an executive committee for the actual transaction of daily business.

There are also district and regional Soviets, whose position and functions are in actual practice not very clear.

All these Soviets are elected on the same plan and seem to be related to one another according to a definite hierarchic scheme. At the head of this organisation stands the all-Russian Congress of Soviets, at which all Soviets are represented by their delegates. Representation of the urban Soviets is in the ratio of one delegate for every 25,000 voters, whereas the rural Soviets only contribute one delegate for every 125,000 voters. The predominating influence of the urban proletariat over the peasantry is thus assured.

The all-Russian Congress of Soviets elects the Central Executive Committee which sits at Moscow and is composed of not more than 200 delegates. It meets not less than twice

* In towns, one delegate is elected per 1000 inhabitants; in small towns, villages, camps, etc., the proportion is 1 per 100.

a year, and generally every three months for a session lasting two or three days. On each of these occasions the Central Executive Committee automatically resigns and is freshly elected; re-election of members is usual.

The function of this Executive is to appoint, control, or dismiss the People's Commissaries, in whom the supreme power is vested. The present Commissaries all belong to the Bolshevik Party which seized control of the State in October 1917.*

It is the boast of the Bolshevik administrators that:—

(i.) The Soviet system is so elastic as to provide for the permanent or temporary representation of every agricultural, industrial, or military community.

(ii.) Any citizen through the agency of this Soviet may make a proposal or address a petition which may finally be considered by the Central Executive Committee. Such a proposal might then even become law.

A most important feature of the system is that each individual Soviet may, at any moment, recall the delegate representing it at a higher Soviet or at the Congress of all the Soviets.

Such is the outline of the Constitution in theory. Its most striking characteristic is the elastic provision made for the constitution of the individual Soviet. Any hamlet, village, camp, factory or small town of less than 10,000 inhabitants is entitled to form a Soviet, provided that this Soviet represents not less than 800 inhabitants. The Soviet in such a case numbers three delegates. In the case of urban Soviets, the latter may number 1000 delegates. But there is, according to the Constitution, no provision made for the possible overlap of the functions of the different Soviets. It is possible for the

* The principal Commissaries are:—

President—Lenin.
Naval and Military Affairs—
 Trotsky.
Foreign Affairs—Tchitcherine.
Labour—Spiez.
Interior—Podrovski.
Education—Lounatcharski.

Roads and Communications—
 Nevski.
Justice—Stoutchea.
Food—Tziouroupa.
Social Assistant—Oulianova
 (Lenin's wife).
Business Manager—Bontch-
 Brouevitch.

district Soviet to comprise industrial, military, and agricultural delegates from the self-same area and elected on different bases of representation. There is no real provision made to obviate the opposition of Soviets, even of those existing in the same town.

The multiplicity of elections and the vast numbers of delegates employed in the national administration should also be observed. There probably exist, at a low estimate, not less than 700,000 delegates involved in the Soviet Government of Russia. The number may possibly be far larger.

The practical working of the Soviet State is most difficult to describe or even criticise. Information under this head is entirely contradictory; it often follows personal bias; and much of the available evidence may be considered to be contaminated, as partaking of the nature of Bolshevik propaganda, or of 'window dressing.'

It is necessary to draw attention to the enormous difficulties confronting any Government undertaking the administration of a country like Russia, owing to its size, the heterogeneous character of the population, and their methods of livelihood. The exhaustion of the country following in the wake of the Great War and the dislocation of ordinary daily services must also be taken into account. Making all due allowance for this state of affairs, there exists no symptom of any genius having been produced by the Bolshevik Government capable of dealing with such a difficult situation. Neither does the establishment of the Soviets appear to have assisted the new administration in solving their difficulties.

The Bolshevik Government have nevertheless set out on a very grandiose plan of national education. Certain measures of social welfare, such as national hospitals, crèches, and other schemes of a quasi-philanthropic nature are all the constructive results attained during the past eighteen months. These measures however are not in any way the peculiar benefits of the Soviet Constitution. There is moreover a strong suspicion that even these results have been obtained in a few cities only, and that they are freely advertised to further the Bolshevik propaganda. On the other hand the food supply of Russia, the communications, and the national services—excepting, by a strange irony, the military service—show no signs of having

made any progress since the Bolsheviks established themselves as the rulers of Russia.

There is nothing to show that either the Soviet theory or the Bolshevik application thereof to practical politics has materially altered the life of Russia. The curious national temperament, patient and generous at one moment, emotional and inconsequent at another, cannot be changed by a stroke of the pen or by a new Constitution. Although it has grasped the shadow of the Soviets and of a Socialist Constitution, the Russian nation is still held fast by the substance of arbitrary government. '*Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.*'

The problem presented by the application of the Soviet Constitution to the peasantry, *i.e.*, almost 85 per cent. of the population, shows little indication of being solved satisfactorily. After the Revolution the peasant was not slow to avail himself of the invitation to seize the land on which he had worked so long. But he soon found that the security of his tenure was threatened by the communistic policy of the Bolsheviks to which he has become consequently opposed. He has also objected to selling his grain at Government controlled prices for paper which he suspects possesses little real commercial value. The Government has resorted to coercive measures and endeavoured to create antagonism between the rich peasant and the poor. This policy has resulted in prolonged dissensions and the alienation of the sympathies of many of the peasantry who are convinced that their interests are being systematically sacrificed to those of the urban population.

The arbitrary restriction of the franchise, already detailed, is in complete conformity with Bolshevik practice in repudiating the principles of democracy. A more positive instance of this tendency is the creation of a graduated scale of privilege. The population is divided into four categories for the purposes of remuneration and distribution of the necessities and amenities of life. This classification is graduated in accordance with the loyalty and usefulness of the individual. At the top of the scale stand the army, the navy, and the small industrial class, and at the bottom those whose education, circumstances, or convictions render them obnoxious to the Government.

The treatment meted out to the fourth class may be judged

from the scale of bread allowance which enables the 'Red' soldier to obtain at least six times as much bread per diem as those individuals who have incurred political disfavour. It is not surprising that conversions to Bolshevism are numerous. But this fact does not make for the stability of Government, and it explains some of the extraordinary defections which take place sporadically whenever the enemies of the Bolsheviks make any headway. This preferential treatment has led a large number of educated and professional men, who might otherwise incur the suspicion of the Government, to seek shelter in Government offices. Doubtless this has conduced to a greater efficiency of the new bureaucracy; but the situation is not likely to endure or to lead to permanent efficiency.

The censorship is one of the most potent instruments of repression employed by the Bolsheviks. The suppression of any form of publication which does not advocate Bolshevik doctrines is not confined to the reactionary press, but is exercised with even greater severity against what is described as 'false' socialism, *i.e.*, any shade of opinion which does not completely accord with the Bolshevik interpretation of socialism. The right to free speech and to the holding of public meetings, on which the Bolsheviks, before their accession to power vehemently insisted, is now as rigorously denied. Even a chance word of criticism may lead to arrest and imprisonment, if not worse.

The Courts of Justice have been replaced by the Extraordinary Commissions, which exercise the power of summary condemnation and execution without the formality of trial. According to all accounts, the Bolshevik system of espionage rivals successfully the similar organisation of the Tzarist Government. At Moscow there sits a mysterious Central Commission, presided over by one Kaledin, and credibly stated to form a tribunal of the type of the Spanish Inquisition or of the Star Chamber. It possesses most dangerous power as it has direct access to the People's Commissaries, and is even reputed to be able to dictate to them a definite line of conduct. Although the secret police have been active in checking anarchy, they are mainly a political instrument for suppressing alike both counter-revolutionaries and any Socialist rivals to the Bolsheviks. The degree of severity with which their

functions are performed is solely dependent on the character and caprice of the president of the local commission.

The formation of the 'Red Guards' or Bolshevik army has been the result of similar methods. In spite of the privileges accorded to soldiers, the attempt to form a volunteer force from amongst the working classes met with little success. The Red Guards to-day are mainly composed of conscripts of all classes and nationalities, whose chief incentive to service is that it affords an easy alternative to destitution and hunger. It is noteworthy that the most reliable troops are foreign mercenaries, principally Letts and Chinese.

The *moral* of the army is not really good. Although the troops frequently fight with courage and enthusiasm, the number of deserters is large. On the whole the army is poorly equipped and badly trained. Nevertheless the military element in the Bolshevik organisation has steadily improved. Reforms such as the abolition of election of officers have been introduced. Many surviving ex-officers of the imperial army have been impressed into the service of the Bolsheviks, and it is to their experience that the army owes much of its progress. In spite of the fact that the majority of these officers only serve the Bolsheviks in order to secure their own safety and that of their families, they are compelled to carry out their duties thoroughly. Some of them have by now become so deeply compromised with the Bolsheviks as to have forfeited all hope of escaping degradation and punishment in the event of a Bolshevik defeat which, consequently, they make every effort to avert.

The most characteristic and effective instrument of the Bolshevik régime however is its propaganda, which is disseminated both in Russia and abroad with unflagging energy and in enormous volume. Its appeal to the ignorant, the oppressed, and to the vast army of 'have nots' is undoubtedly strong, and it is hardly less convincing to many better educated apostles of social reform who have not experienced it at close quarters. The sympathy and support accorded to it by extreme Socialists who have despaired of the fulfilment of their dreams in their own country is hardly surprising in view of the fact that Russia now possesses the only communistic Government in the world. This propaganda is skilfully adapted to produce the most convincing effect on the recipient. As its publications

are varied in both matter and form so as to enlist the sympathy of one class of reader and to intimidate another, it is inevitable that they are often found to be mutually contradictory.

Assuredly the Bolsheviks have exploited their opportunity with consummate skill. A country population, devoid of political education, war weary and down-trodden by autocratic officialdom, accepted the change of rulers and the new Constitution without being consulted and without protest. In the shape of the Soviets they clutched at the shadow of freedom together with the land which the new order brought within their grasp. In the cities the Bolsheviks consolidated their rule by appealing to the lower instincts of the workers who had admittedly suffered political injustice. Unquestionably the Bolsheviks have been largely actuated by an ambition to rule and to hold the position of rulers. In addition they have been moved by a desire for revenge and by the vanity of the doctrinaire. Like all neophytes in the art of governing, violence and intrigue have come to them as the panaceas for opposition and mistrust.

In spite of the actual deeds of the Bolsheviks, the mystic charm of their socialistic incantations seems capable of bemusing millions who are ready to be bemused. Moreover a large number of moderate minded men persistently confuse Bolshevik practice with the theory of the Soviet Constitution. Thus it happens that the failures and violence of the Bolshevik Government are often forgotten while the theoretical advantages of the Soviet Constitution are ventilated by an enthusiastic orator. The Soviet theory does appeal to many who would feel abhorrence at Bolshevik misrule but cannot draw a distinction between the two concepts.

It is chiefly in respect of the international relations existing between Russia and Europe that the Bolshevik handiwork differentiates the Russian from the French Revolution. The national and military spirit of France rose to its zenith at the threat of interference, and the country was purified by the one and made supreme by the other. The Bolsheviks on the other hand have deliberately set about stifling the national spirit of Russia. The Marxian philosophy is but an inadequate substitute for the fire of patriotism, which not only preserved the fruits of the Revolution of 1789 but also

uplifted the French Republic. Much can be forgiven to the Jacobins.

Intrigue and propaganda have been the Bolshevik replies to European disapprobation and mistrust. But the results of the Bolshevik campaign on the rest of the world have scarcely justified Lenin's anticipations. It is true that the distress and unrest consequent on the war and the almost universal aspiration for improved conditions of life have combined to obtain for Bolshevik propaganda a more sympathetic hearing than would otherwise have been accorded to it. By clever propagandists Bolshevism can be made to look extremely plausible and attractive. It appears to open a door to the workers' Utopia and to the realisation of all the social reformer's dreams. Only one side of the picture is presented, and that in the most alluring colours. The reverse side is discounted as the invention of dispossessed capitalism intriguing to recover its power over an emancipated proletariat.

The institution of the Soviet as an organ of representation and administration stands on a different level from the other aspects of Bolshevism. There is in this case a novel constructive object in view which has led to a social experiment well worthy of study. The Soviet system should be reviewed quite apart from any consideration as to how far it is honestly administered or how far it has remained a dead letter throughout Russia. The Soviet scheme of government embodies a principle differing fundamentally from the parliamentary system which it has become our habit to regard both as complete and ideal from the constitutional standpoint. So much dissatisfaction is however now being manifested towards Parliament that it is not surprising to find even serious minded people wondering whether some merits are not latent in the Soviet system which might permit of its transfusion—gradual and partial, if not total—into a truly democratic body. Would the Soviet system enable us to reform, if necessary, a representative system which has been outstripped by the requirements of the nation as well as to correct an obsolescent balance between the centralisation and decentralisation of the administrative functions?

The Russian Constitution is insistent on the merits of the tiny area as compared to those—expressed in English terms—of a parliamentary constituency. But if representative bodies

are to be maintained of a manageable size, and if the electors are to exercise a direct influence on the central legislative assembly, the size of the area represented by a Soviet in Russia is far too small. A Soviet elected by a very small area tends to be overwhelmingly parochial in its point of view, and the right of recall gives it power at any moment to press that view upon its delegates to the central body.

This aspect of the matter must be so familiar as to need no emphasis. The process is universal. Even in the case of our larger trade unions, criticism is constantly being levelled at their executive councils for the slowness or inability exhibited by them in dealing with any minor grievances of the individual or of the few. This state of affairs has contributed not a little to the growing importance of local workers' committees and to the birth of the 'Rank and File Movement.' These committees and this movement can be traced back to the identical Marxian theory which has so largely inspired the Russian Soviet system. Russia in fact provides the ideal of our own extremists.

But in addition to industrial matters, the Soviet attempts to combine within itself all the functions of national representation, local government, and of economic control, as well as certain duties now performed in this country through the agency of voluntary effort. The success of a Soviet system thus depends on how far an organisation primarily designed for managing local economic and industrial matters is capable of making itself felt in larger social and political questions. The Marxists and International Socialists boldly allege this to be possible. They hold indeed as an essential part of their creed that economic (industrial) business alone is of real importance in the daily routine of the State. On that assumption Lenin created the factory Soviet. A scheme of this nature already exists in England which is suggestive of the Soviet model. This is the Whitley Council system for the settlement of industrial difficulties. In this case there exist local and district councils, headed by a National Council on which Capital and Labour will meet. A system of delegates selected by committees is provided.

The Marxists however propose to go a step further and are preparing to promote a gigantic federation of Labour which shall control all the national industries and the whole life

of industrial workers. The project has been ventilated both in Great Britain and in the United States under the appellation of 'The One Big Union.' This union would indubitably end by undertaking far greater duties and responsibilities than the mere settlement of Labour troubles. The Soviet avowedly makes a further advance along the same path. The Whitley Council, the One Big Union, the Soviet—these are the steps in the path of syndicalism.

A more moderate school of thought in this country favours the creation of an Industrial Parliament to function in parallel with our present Imperial Parliament. The former would be elected on a system resembling that of the Russian Soviets. But it may be questioned whether two such assemblies could exist for a day without coming into conflict over financial matters. Our parliamentary system may be suffering from many defects; our local government methods may stand in need of reform; and it is possible that the Soviet theory and practice may suggest remedies for the faults of our existing system. But to exchange our Parliament for the Russian Soviet system at one stroke is neither desirable nor possible.

Happily at the present moment in Europe there is less likelihood of the violence and excesses of the Russian Revolution being imitated in Western Europe than was the case a year ago. But there is a wider and far more subtle manner in which the Russian Revolution will influence the world for many years to come. To the average citizen of western countries there stand out those two momentous facts: first, that the autocratic bureaucracy of Imperialist Russia has been swept away to make room for a Socialist Constitution; second, that a party of men, sprung from the plebs and untrained in government, now stand in the place of the Romanovs. The influence of these two facts tends to set up the theoretical Soviet Republic as an ideal to be aimed at by all men inflamed by revolutionary passion, class hatred, or industrial discontent.

CAPITALISM—I

1. **Capital, Capitalism, and Capitalists.** Oxford Tracts on Economic Subjects, Nos. 6 and 13. Oxford University Press. 1920.
2. **The Case for Capitalism.** By HARTLEY WITHERS. Eveleigh Nash. 1920.
3. **The Sickness of an Acquisitive Society.** By R. H. TAWNEY. Fabian Bookshop. 1920.

THE conspicuous appearance of the word 'Capitalism' in the foregoing and other current publications is symptomatic of a change of view, for until lately it has been but little noticed, if not wholly ignored, by non-Socialist economists, with a few exceptions. Its present prominence is due to the general upheaval in political, social, and economic life, which has given a great impetus to the doctrine—among other explanations—that all the maladies of society are rooted in Capitalism, and can be cured only by its abolition and replacement by some other 'ism.' The word is polemical and political rather than economic, though it springs from an economic theory. Down with Capitalism! is a battle cry, and battle cries lie outside the range of a study which merely seeks to elucidate cause and effect. This is why economists who have much to say about capital have generally ignored Capitalism. But now that it has been pushed into prominence it naturally attracts more attention, and the theory involved in it is subjected to more general scrutiny.

What is Capitalism? Like other abstract terms of the kind it is used in different senses. Capital, from which it is derived, has itself many meanings, and the terminal 'ism' offers a wide choice of interpretations. This suffix is very loosely used in English. It may signify a theory, a policy, a body of doctrine, a way of looking at things, a way of doing things, an organisation, a fashion, a practice, and even a group of persons or of facts. Not infrequently two or more of these meanings are mixed up together and cause much confusion of mind. In truth the addition of 'ism' is very often nothing but a lazy trick to avoid clear thinking or exact expression. People speak,

for instance, of trade unionism when they mean trade unions or trade unionists, and of Capitalism, when they mean capitalists or capital. One reads daily that Capitalism is afraid of this or trying to do that, as though an abstraction could feel or act. How catching this loose language is appears from Mr. Tawney's pamphlet on the Acquisitive Society. He writes :—

‘For the instruments through which Capitalism exercised discipline are one by one being taken from it. It cannot pay what wages it likes or work what hours it likes. . . . And if Capitalism is losing its control over men's bodies, still more has it lost its command of their minds. . . .’

This scholarly and capable writer here invests Capitalism with the attributes of personality. If we turn to the young school of trade union intellectuals, who are one of the most interesting products of the times, and are exercising great influence, we find a variable use of the term. Mr. W. W. Craik, formerly a railwayman, and now acting principal of the Labour College, calls Capitalism a ‘method of economy’ in his *Short History of the Modern British Working-Class Movement*, and he consistently uses the word in that sense. Mr. Mark Starr, another Labour College teacher, and originally a miner, narrows this meaning down to ‘commodity production’ in his book, ‘*A Worker Looks at History*,’ in which he faithfully follows Marx ; but he speaks of Capitalism as sending commodities to market and cherishing ideas. Sir W. J. Ashley, in ‘*The Economic Organisation of England*,’ gives the following fuller and more precise definition, ‘Modern methods of production directed ‘for the profit-making purposes of capital.’ The Oxford Tracts do not attempt a definition, but apply the terms in the same sense. Mr. Hartley Withers understands by it ‘The present ‘system under which we work and exchange our work for that ‘of others.’ M. Gide writes of ‘a new state of society,’ in which capital is ‘made an instrument of money-making and the ‘means of obtaining an income without working,’ and says that this is ‘what the Socialists call Capitalism.’

These definitions vary in breadth and precision but are in general agreement, and their purport is that Capitalism means neither capital nor capitalists but a mode of using capital. The distinction may seem a truism and this examination an idle exercise in word-splitting, but it is not so. Two important

inferences follow. The first is that the abolition of Capitalism does not imply the abolition of capital, as is very often assumed, but only of private capital. Socialists complain of this common error in their opponents, but it is due to their own loose language. The second inference is that their indictment lies against the method, not against those who use or misuse it, though, of course, if no one used it the method would not exist. The point here is that if the users were at fault then their correction might be a sufficient remedy; but since the method itself is condemned nothing less than its abolition is demanded by those who condemn it. The principle is challenged, not its particular application. What is this principle?

Its essential character is most fully expressed in the definition quoted above from M. Gide, in which he speaks of capital being 'made an instrument of money-making and the means of 'obtaining an income without working.' The statement is not complete, as will be seen later on, but it is sufficient for the present stage of our inquiry. It gives us a formula for the mode of using capital which constitutes Capitalism—namely, that capital is thereby 'made an instrument of money-making, etc.' The implication is that this is a new state of things, and that is, indeed, an essential part of the argument. We are constantly told that Capitalism is a modern development peculiar to our time, and dating from the sixteenth century (Marx). Is this proposition correct? Of course, modern Capitalism is modern; it is differentiated from earlier modes of using capital, but how? Do the differentia lie in the intrinsic character of the thing or merely in development, magnitude, and prevalence? To answer this question we must examine the nature of capital.

Readers not conversant with economic literature will perhaps think this superfluous, but as a matter of fact, no conception, except that of value, has been the subject of more discussion and proposed definitions than that of capital. Professor Marshall cites a number of the more important ones in his 'Principles of Economics,' and there are many others. Some emphasise one aspect of the subject, some another; but none appears to be wholly satisfactory. The diversity shows how intricate the question becomes as soon as any attempt is made to analyse the conception. The difficulty lies in reducing the notions hidden in the common use of the word to the precision

required for scientific study. A definition wide enough to correspond with popular usage has to be qualified and subdivided to bring it into accord with diverse conditions; and the result is an ever lengthening series of categories, which wear a repellent aspect to simple readers in search of instruction. At least a dozen different kinds of capital have been named by economists; and there is ground for all these distinctions, so complex are the actual processes of economy.

Perhaps the best way to elucidate these intricacies is to take the popular usage of the word and examine the conceptions embodied in it. The most definite and widely held idea associated with capital is its antithetical relation to income. To mention one is to suggest the other, and it will be found on analysis that capital is thought of as a source of income. Hence it may be said that capital is anything that furnishes or can be made to furnish income. This is the broadest definition; it covers all powers and capacities as well as money and things. When the pretty milkmaid in the nursery rhyme was asked by a mercenary admirer, What is your fortune? she replied, My face is my fortune. It is a good answer and illuminating; there is more in it than appears on the surface.

The words 'fortune' and 'capital' are interchangeable in common usage, and it is a curious fact that in classical Latin the word for capital is *sors*, which also means fortune. Pliny the Younger's letters contain a very clear instance. He had an old friend named Attilius Crescens in whose welfare he was deeply interested. In a letter to Priscus, a friend of both, he says that Valerius Varus, then dead, owed Attilius money, and he implores Priscus, who was intimate with the heir of Varus, to see to it *ut Attilio meo salva sit non sors modo sed etiam usura plurimum annorum*. Catanaeus, the scholiast, explains *sors* in a note, as *prima pecunia, cui supercurrit fenus, quod vulgo capitale dicitur*. So, too, the famous Bull, 'Detestabilis,' of Sixtus V., forbidding all contracts whereby, in cases of investment with a partner—whether of money, animals, or anything else—the *sors ipsa seu capitale* was secured intact to the lender, regardless of possible loss incurred by the borrower. *Sors*, or fortune, then, is the same as capital; and both, it may be observed, include other things besides money. They include all 'utilities,' in economic language, and beauty is a utility, which has, in fact, a high

economic value. It is a great 'asset,' and assets are capital. The milkmaid was right; she had a fortune, though not a material one.

In like manner people say of a young singer that she has a fortune in her throat. Her voice is her capital, and if it is good it yields a very good income. So too a man's knowledge, intelligence, skill, or strength, is said to be his only capital. Charlie Chaplin's peculiar gift of humour, which brings him in £300,000 a year, is an immense capital. How many capitalists, in the narrow and polemical sense of the word, draw as much from the 'exploitation of labour'?

The very wide definition of capital suggested by M. Yves Guyot—*toutes les utilités faisant fonction économique*—covers all these cases; but it obviously covers also other forms which are quite distinct. Capital, in the sense just used, is personal to the owner; it cannot be passed on or perpetuated; its duration is limited to the effective life of its possessor; and the effort which is required to make all capital productive, and is called by economists 'labour,' must come from the possessor. Charlie Chaplin must practise his own funniments before the film camera, Signor Caruso must himself sing; they must apply their capital themselves. In other words they must work in order to render their capital productive. It is converted from a static to a dynamic form by work.

This form of capital, which is personal, subjective, and inalienable, is recognised by many economists; and there is a growing tendency to recognise it. Professor Marshall's definition of personal wealth includes energies, faculties, and habits as well as business connexions and associations. He calls the one internal and the other external goods, and says that both are productive; therefore 'if they are to be reckoned as wealth at all they are also to be reckoned as capital. Thus personal 'wealth and personal capital are convertible' ('Principles of 'Economics,' Book II., Chapter V., Section 4). But such capital is obviously excluded from the conception of Capitalism outlined above, which is solely concerned with unearned income and material wealth. This is the first of a series of exclusions which narrow down capital and the mode of employing it until they contain nothing but the conclusion it is desired to draw. The procedure is an example of the logical fallacy called *petitio*

principii, of which Fowler says that 'it usually occurs in long 'arguments and especially in wordy metaphysical writings,' and is therefore difficult to illustrate by examples. But it is not difficult to show that theories which ignore subjective capital are likely to be erroneous, because they leave out an essential factor in the economic problem and lead the search for explanations in a wrong direction. This is the original form of capital, prior to all others, and the source from which they spring; it is also the ultimate cause of economic inequality. Man's personal faculties, applied to external objects, produced the earliest forms of material wealth, and unequal faculties exercised on the same materials produce unequal results. Both operate to this day. Speculations which ignore the living facts in the attempt to reach an abstract and absolute formula by averaging real variations down to an imaginary level must lead to error. Marxian economics, under the obsession of Ricardian methods and German absolute philosophy, leave out the dynamic factor, which enters into the problem at every turn and is infinitely variable. They reduce labour itself to a homogeneous mass called average social labour, quantitatively measurable, like capital, and divisible into equivalent fractions. Yet Marx himself, when engaged in proving something else, is constrained to call labour a form of capital. The labourers, he says, on entering the labour process 'become incorporated with capital.' As members of a working organism they are but 'special modes 'of capital.' 'Hence the productive power developed by the 'labourer in co-operation is the productive power of capital.' Why only in co-operation? It is the dynamic form of capital in all production, and it is not confined to 'labourers' in the limited sense of the word. It was busy getting them together and making many other preparations before there could be any co-operation at all.

But leaving this for the present, let us take a narrower conception of capital than that just discussed, and one that has had perhaps the greatest vogue with economists. It includes only external or objective capital and may be stated as existing wealth used to produce more wealth. But this again is far too broad to fit the idea of Capitalism. It goes back nearly to the beginnings of production, for as soon as men made or acquired anything which could be used, not for consumption, but to make

or acquire something more, they were already capitalists in this sense. Implements of the chase, tame animals, and seed corn were all capital. Nor is there any intrinsic and inherent difference of character between such primitive capital and modern forms. The difference lies in degrees of magnitude, complexity, potency, and abundance. If there is any real difference it must be of another kind and extrinsic to capital itself. J. S. Mill's definition of capital introduces a term which brings us much nearer to Capitalism. Capital, he says, is 'wealth devoted to 'reproductive employment.' The crucial word is 'employment,' which suggests, at least, one of the conditions that narrow down the meaning of capital to the particular form required to fit the conception of Capitalism—namely, objective wealth applied to production by setting others to work. But even this definition is too broad, for it would include the capital of a medieval master craftsman employing journeymen and apprentices; but the indictment against Capitalism expressly excludes that type, which is contrasted with the modern capitalist employer to the disadvantage of the latter. What is the distinction? It is neither private ownership nor the appropriation of the product by the employer, for both obtained in medieval industry and are indeed as old as history. Some other condition must be present, and this seems to be the separation of ownership from work.

So we get a string of limitations which pare down the meaning of capital to the required size and shape. The result is concisely stated by Professor Marshall. According to the Marxian doctrine, he says, 'only that is capital which is a means 'of production owned by one person (or group of persons) and 'used to produce things for the benefit of another, generally by 'means of the hired labour of a third; in such wise that the first 'has the opportunity of plundering or exploiting the others.' The words, 'for the benefit of another,' imply production for the market, that is for profit. He calls it an 'arbitrary doctrine,' and obviously these conditions have nothing to do with the intrinsic nature of capital, but relate solely to the mode of using it, which is marked by the following features:—(1) Private ownership; (2) production for profit; (3) by means of hired labour, so that (4) the capitalist enjoys an income without work extracted from those who do work. The use of capital in this

manner constitutes Capitalism, and its general application is commonly called the capitalist system, though a system is exactly what it is not. A system, properly speaking, is a set institution or an arrangement of affairs on an ordered plan. You may have a political, a legal, an educational, an ecclesiastical, a monetary system, and so on. The medieval guilds formed an industrial system. But the reproach brought against the 'capitalist system' is just that it is anarchical and devoid of order, or in other words no system at all. What its opponents are indeed trying to do is to create a system, which at present is lacking, though they cannot agree on the form this should take. But that is by the way.

The point at which we have arrived is the definition of Capitalism as a particular mode of using objective capital characterised by the conditions just enumerated, and we can now return to the question whether or in what sense it is new. Every one of those conditions existed in the older forms of society of which we have knowledge. There was private ownership of land and capital in the early Oriental societies recorded by history. Abraham was a great capitalist. He was already 'very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold,' when he came up out of Egypt. He had accumulated wealth both in kind and in money. It was not coined money but reckoned by weight, as we learn from his purchase of a piece of land from Ephron the Hittite for 400 shekels of silver, 'current money with the merchant.' This incident is very instructive. It discloses the private ownership and sale of land as a regular and recognised institution, for the ground was the private property of Ephron, and it was 'made sure unto Abraham for a possession' with all that was in it. He wanted a cave in it for a family burial place, but he bought the whole estate, and that publicly 'in the presence of the children of Heth'; the whole tribe witnessed and sanctioned the transaction, which was evidently in conformity with local usage. Then the mention of the merchants and their currency indicates the existence of a market and an extensive one. The traders travelled about, buying the local produce and selling it elsewhere. We meet a company of them later coming from Gilead with their camels, 'bearing spicery and balm and myrrh,' going to 'carry it down to Egypt.' The producers—pastoralists and cultivators—produced for profit, as well as for use, and

accumulated wealth thereby. That was how Abraham got his. The merchants, for their part, bought goods in one place and sold them in another, and made their profit by the difference in market value, which was less in the place of origin and purchase than in that of sale and consumption. These economic operations were carried on, so far as they went, among the ancient Oriental peoples upon exactly the same principles as they are to-day; there was private ownership of capital, production and trade for profit, and accumulation of wealth by both. So too among the Greeks and Romans and in the Middle Ages. The scale of operations was smaller and the means limited, but there was no essential difference in the economic process.

So much for the two first conditions. What of the other two—namely, the employment of hired labour and the extraction of an income without work? These seem to be the real kernel of the charge against Capitalism. The whole Marxian argument turns upon them. The profit drawn by the capitalist, which is unearned income, comes out of the values created by labour and is therefore robbery. This thesis is maintained, not only by Marxians, but by all economic revolutionists. How far are these conditions modern?

The ancient civilisations are usually set lightly aside with the observation that they rested on slavery, as though that implied a different economic process and was somehow less heinous. But obviously the production of wealth by one set of persons and the appropriation of part of it by another set, which are the essential factors in the case, remain whether the former are slaves, serfs, or freemen, and the latter slave owners, lords, or employers. In each case the producers, according to the theory, get for their share something round about enough to subsist on, a little more or a little less in particular circumstances, while the appropriators take the surplus. It may be taken in different forms and called by different names, but the upshot is the same. The legal and social status of the producers differs, and this has further consequences, but the economic process is not changed thereby. As a matter of fact all three conditions of slavery, serfdom, and free labour existed side by side in ancient times, and in our own era down to a comparatively recent date. Engels himself, one of the authors of the particular

theory of Capitalism here discussed, allowed in his maturer days that hired labour was a very old institution. The Old Testament abounds in references to it, and the Mosaic law in particular draws a sharp distinction between the bondman and the hireling who was to be paid by the day.

'Bondman' apparently included both slaves and serfs. The Israelites, who were 'in bondage' in Egypt, were not slaves, because they possessed their own houses, cattle and goods and were treated as friends and equals by the Egyptians. They were in an intermediate status and compelled to work for Pharaoh, no doubt in some of those grandiose building enterprises beloved by the Egyptian kings, while they carried on their own pastoral occupations; in short, they were royal serfs. They were themselves forbidden by Moses to make slaves of their own race. They might buy them and keep them in service until the jubilee, but perpetual slavery was reserved for foreigners. Serfdom prevailed widely in Greece and in Asia, as Professor Vinogradoff has shown. The Helots of Sparta were rather serfs than slaves, and Hybrias the Cretan boasted of compelling the people about him to work for him in field and vineyard. Later the Roman colonial system established serfdom as a regular institution.

But the main point is hired labour. In addition to the evidence of its existence from the Mosaic law there are several references in the Old Testament to the hiring of artisans. When Joash repaired the temple he hired masons and carpenters and metal workers, and though this was not a capitalist enterprise the men he employed were evidently accustomed to work for hire. Job, who was a great cattle baron, speaks of the hireling looking for the reward of his work. But the clearest case of all is in the New Testament parable of the wine grower who engaged men standing in the market place to work in his vineyard. When asked why they were standing there idle they said, 'Because no man hath hired us,' just like so many dock labourers waiting outside the dock gates. The practice must have been familiar, because parables were a method of teaching by means of homely illustrations intelligible to a simple audience. And the lesson closed with the answer given to the men who grumbled because they got no more pay than others who had done less work—Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with

mine own? The whole proceeding, the feelings, and the relations described have a curiously modern ring.

Greece is generally mentioned as the classic example of a civilisation based on slavery, chiefly on the strength of Aristotle's argument that some are born to rule and others to be ruled. But he qualifies the theory, admits that there is a contrary one, to which he allows some weight. The Greeks therefore contemplated the possibility of a society without slavery, and as a matter of fact there were in Greece other classes of workers employed in money-making concerns. The father of Isocrates, the famous Athenian orator, moralist, and teacher, was a citizen of moderate standing, but he acquired sufficient wealth to give his sons the most expensive education—equivalent to Eton and Oxford—by the business of making musical instruments in which he employed a number of workmen. The word used both by Dionysius Halicarnassus, and in the biography attributed to Plutarch is *θεράποντες*, which signified persons serving in a free and honourable capacity as contrasted with *δοῦλοι*, who were either slaves or serfs (for the word covered different degrees of servitude, and Xenophon speaks of rich *δοῦλοι*). The father of Isocrates was in fact a rich manufacturer, and Aristophanes, by way of holding Isocrates up to ridicule, called him *ἀυλοποιός* because of his father's business, just as he called Demosthenes, whose father was a sword manufacturer, *μακαιοποιός*. Aristotle's own analysis of economic principles and practice recognises hired labour (*μισθαρνία*) as one of the means of acquiring wealth, co-ordinate with commerce; and shows that capitalist finance, trade, and production were all highly developed in Greece. The plays of Aristophanes contain much indirect evidence to the same effect. The regular rate of interest in money loans was 12 per cent., but on money put into commercial enterprises it was from 20 to 30 per cent., no doubt because of the greater risk. The attacks of philosophers and poets on money-making and business does not mean that they were not carried on, but just the contrary.

In the Roman republic capitalist enterprise became still more developed and on a far larger scale. The chief capitalists were the great landowners, who kept their own merchant fleets and exported their own produce. They were 'from ancient times simultaneously traders and capitalists, and combined in

'their hands lending on security, trafficking on a great scale, the 'undertaking of contracts, and the executing of works for the 'State' (Mommsen). The urban industries were carried on either by slaves for their owners or 'by freedmen, in whose 'case the master not only frequently furnished the capital, but 'also regularly stipulated for a share, often the half, of the profits' (Mommsen). This form of capitalist production was found more profitable than the employment of slaves, no doubt because the free men worked much harder; and it consequently developed so rapidly that manumission was taxed in 357 B.C. and the political rights of freedmen were curtailed in 304 B.C. The rate of interest on money lent was limited to 10 per cent. by the law of the Twelve Tables (450 B.C.), and later reduced to 5 per cent.; eventually (342 B.C.) interest was forbidden altogether, as in the Middle Ages, and with no more effect. Gradually Roman society became more and more immersed in the acquisition of wealth until it was fairly given up to money-making. 'The spirit of the capitalist,' writes Mommsen, 'now (about 200 B.C.) penetrated and pervaded all 'aspects and stations of life. The preservation and increase of 'wealth positively formed a part of public and private morality.' Cato, who had a reputation for austerity, laid it down in the instructions he composed for his son that 'a man must augment 'his substance, and he is deserving of praise and full of a divine 'spirit whose account books at his death show that he has gained 'more than he inherited.'

The whole plutological apparatus was developed—banking, investment, partnership, joint stock companies, and even trusts. The chief sources of wealth were trading, sheep farming, stock raising, wine, oil, and corn growing, but the last mentioned decayed under the system of importing corn at very low prices, encouraged by the State to keep the populace in good humour. Manufactures were much less developed, but were still on a considerable scale and highly lucrative. The great aim was to become rich through the labour of others; work was thought discreditable. Surely this is the essence of Capitalism. It is not surprising that Marx says of Mommsen, who had dissected the economic life of Rome with equal learning and acumen, that he 'commits blunder after blunder.' Poor Mommsen! He actually had the audacity to say things which did not suit

Marx's book, so he must be put in his place with a wave of the hand, for Marx discreetly refrains from specifying. But the spectacle of Marx correcting Mommsen in Roman history is delightful. Of all the flights of arrogance performed by that incomparable egotist and unconscious humorist this is the most amusing.

Let us pass on to the Middle Ages with which detailed comparisons are now frequently made to the great disadvantage of the present. We are constantly told that the origin of Capitalism dates from the sixteenth century. This date is given by Marx and repeated with that uncritical docility which is one of the most striking features of latter-day enlightenment. But what was new in the sixteenth century? It was not private ownership, or money-making without work, or the investment of capital in commerce and industry, or production for profit, or the employment of hired labour, for all these existed centuries before. On a comparatively small scale, it is true; but population and all activities were on a comparatively small scale then, and we are speaking of origins. Scale does not affect the essential character of processes; it only conditions their effects. A guildsman none the less employed hired workmen for wages and got the 'surplus value' of their work out of them because they were few. Goods were none the less produced for sale and profit because the market was limited. What else were the people doing, who attended the fairs and markets that played such an important part in medieval economic life, but seeking to sell at the highest and buy at the lowest price? What else were the merchants and traders doing, who bought to sell again, but carrying out the Marxian formula $M-C-M$ and making a profit thereby? What else was the pure capitalist doing, who invested in commercial and industrial enterprise as a sleeping partner, but seeking to gain an income without work?

It will perhaps be objected that there were no such capitalists before the sixteenth or at least the fifteenth century. But that belief rests on inadequate research. If there were no other evidence economic discussion in the thirteenth century is alone quite sufficient. Like all other abstract studies, economic theory was at that time a branch of theology, but it was handled none the less—perhaps all the more—with extreme ability. The schoolmen discussed private property, communism, usury,

investment, interest, and prices with an acumen which has never been surpassed. The master mind was St. Thomas Aquinas, who for comprehensive range of thought, logical power, and balanced judgment can be matched only by Aristotle. In addition to the *Summa Theologica* he wrote a special treatise on 'Usury' in which he discusses the investment of capital in the clearest manner. He distinguishes it from mere money lending, which he condemns, and justifies the expectation of profit from capital invested in commercial or industrial enterprise on the ground that he is risking his own property in the venture. Here is the passage:—

'Sed ille qui committit pecuniam suam mercatori vel artifice, per modum societatis cujusdam, non transfert dominium pecuniæ suæ in alium sed remanet ejus; ita quod cum periculo ipsius mercator de ea negociatur vel artifex operatur; et ideo sic licite potest partem lucri inde provenientis expectare, tanquam de re suâ.'

The case of the money capitalist has never been more clearly stated, and Aquinas died in 1274. But he went much further. He recognised other kinds of capital besides money, and argued that profit derived from gainful investment was not *numisma ex numismate*—an obvious reference to Aristotle's dictum ὁ τόκος γίνεται νόμισμα νομίματος—but the product of the investor's own property lawfully acquired.

After this it is perhaps unnecessary to prove the existence of the other attributes of Capitalism in the same period, but something must be said about the hired workman and production for use, not profit, under the guilds; for the facts are constantly misrepresented by one-sided statements. No doubt the original organisation of the guilds contemplated the step from journeyman to master as a regular thing, but the masters soon began to depart from it. Even in the twelfth century the journeymen already appeared as a class; they began to form their own associations in opposition to the masters and to go on strike for better conditions. These, and not the guilds, were the precursors of trade unions, and the survival of the word 'chapel' proves the connexion. The guilds became steadily more and more exclusive; entrance was made easy for relatives, but difficult for ordinary workmen. The 'master-piece' was invented for that purpose. At the same time the practice arose and grew of the masters retiring from the work-

shop and contenting themselves with supervision. In the small handicrafts the necessary outfit represented little capital, but other industries required a considerable outlay on plant and were always capitalistic. The theory that use, not profit, was the motive of production means presumably that things were made to order, not for the open market. So they are now, and we have recently had a striking example in the orders for motor cars for future delivery. Many industries are indeed choked with orders long in advance of production. Making to customers' orders may have been more prevalent than speculative production in the Middle Ages, but it is evident from the practice of hawking goods, such as boots, in the streets, and from markets and fairs that the latter was carried on extensively also; and the supposed absence of profit-seeking is quite incompatible with the innumerable regulations, usually abortive, against fraudulent dealing and the attempts to suppress competition.

If it be argued that after all it does not matter much whether the origin of Capitalism is dated a few centuries earlier or later, the answer is that, since the conception of historical evolution is the grand secret and basis of Marxian economics, historical accuracy becomes important. As for slavery, serfdom, and free labour, the successive predominance of each in different periods is, indeed, a fact of the first importance in the historical evolution of society; but its real significance does not lie in the principles of producing and owning wealth. The economic difference between ancient, medieval, and modern society is in scale, complexity, and form, not in the plutological principle or the essential character of the process. But further examination of these matters must be left for a second essay.

A. SHADWELL.

THE GERMAN WAR SPIRIT

1. *An der Schwelle des dritten Kriegsjahrs.* By ADOLF VON HARNACK. Rede. 1916.
2. *Der deutsche Krieg, Politische Flugschriften.* Ed. ERNST JÄCKH. H1-97.
3. *Ursachen und Ausbruch des Weltkrieges.* By G. VON JAGOW. Berlin : Reimar Hobbing. 1919.
4. *Kaiser-Wilhelm-Dankverein der Soldatenfreunde, Kriegsschriften.* H1-78.
5. *Deutschland und Armenien, 1914-16. Sammlung diplomatischer Aktenstücke.* Herausgegeben von JOHANNES LEPSIUS. 1919.
6. *Die Macht und Wirtschaftsziele der Deutschland feindlichen Staaten.* Vorträge von HERMANN ONCKEN, EDUARD MEYER, ERICH BRANDENBURG, HANS UEBERSBERGER, KARL RAITHGEN, RUDOLF STAMMLER. H6. 1918.
7. *Probleme des Weltkrieges.* By FRIEDRICH MEINECKE. 1917.
8. *Gotteswort in eiserner Zeit. Ein Gedenkbuch in Predigten.* Ed. WILHELM MEYER. Neue Folge. H1-6. 1915-16.
9. *Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht.* By JULIUS VON PFLUGK-HARTTUNG. Berlin : Mittler. 1915.
10. *Schützengraben-Bücher f. das deut. Volk.* H1-120.
11. *Vorträge für die Kriegszeit.* H1-10. 1914-16.
12. *Gegen England.* By ADOLF WAGNER. 1914.

THE defeat of Germany has not only dispelled the dream of the German patriots who looked forward to a spiritual and material consolidation of all German States into one compact whole, but it has also thrown Germany economically into a worse condition than that in which she was after the Thirty Years War. The birth of the idea of a united Germany dates from the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. Napoleon knew no Germans ; he only knew Prussians, Saxons, Bavarians, Würtemburgers, and others ; but when the Russian campaign crushed his power, the desire of the German race for unity found its first expression in the writings of the great German writers of the period, notably of Arndt who voiced the longings of the Teutonic race in his words, ' Das ganze Deutsch-

'land soll es sein,' and of Heine also, who in one of his poems wrote :—

'Ein einiges Deutschland thut uns not,
Einig nach aussen und innen.'

Public opinion however was not sufficiently formed in Germany to make its influence felt at the Congress of Vienna which, by confirming the petty princes of Central Europe on their thrones, preserved Germany still as a geographical conception only.

The following short article is intended to show what the Germans were fighting for and the spirit that animated them in carrying on the war. Many people will admit that, however criminal Germany's methods may have been, however misguided the ideals and aims of her people, no good can come of ignoring or denying the beliefs that enabled such a nation to enter heart and soul into the great conflict. To us the war appeared one of wanton aggression by German imperialists, begun merely for the purpose of supremacy and conquest. We entered wholeheartedly into the war because we desired no material aggrandisement and had no other hidden object. It was to us a war waged to maintain the right and to prevent brute force from ruling the world. Germany began by outraging British public feeling by her invasion of Belgium, by tearing up the treaty to which she was a party and by which Belgium's neutrality had been guaranteed. As the war went on our conviction deepened that we never had any alternative, but were forced to fight Germany in the interest of common humanity. The wholesale outrages in Belgium, the use of poison gas, the sinking of merchant ships without allowing their crews to escape, and lastly the torpedoing of hospital ships made us feel almost that we were engaged in a holy war. The sending of aeroplanes to drop bombs on non-fortified towns and the bombarding of defenceless coast towns seemed to us only explicable on the theory that Germany had given up the idea of carrying on a civilised warfare and was determined to conquer at no matter what cost. The English people thought this was due only to Prussian militarism, but when no protests against violent measures were made by Germany and her sympathisers, public opinion in England declared that not only the German Government but the whole German people also were responsible for the deeds done by their generals and soldiers.

An examination of the pamphlets issued in Germany during the early part of the war enables us to form a definite opinion of the views of those not immediately connected with the German Government; it gives the reasons why in the beginning the German people so unanimously and spontaneously followed their leaders, and even partially explains why there has been 'no change of heart' in Germany. It is therefore with no common curiosity that one studies German war pamphlets to discover what the German mentality was, and how their writers defended the actions of their military and naval officers.

We in England failed to realise that some time before the war actually broke out the German nation considered itself threatened both in the east and west, and for this reason was ready at any moment to support with all its might a war to ward off the danger. With this imminent peril at their frontiers, as everybody believed, we can understand how it was that there never was a real peace party in Germany. The German nation in fact considered that the war was forced upon them and that they were bound to take the initiative before their enemies became too strong; they found themselves in a war which they had not willed; they saw themselves surrounded by powerful enemies who from various motives intended the destruction of Germany. Government and people were one mind, one soul. 'The whole land was united. There swept through the whole of Germany one mighty will—a will to maintain, with gold and blood, body and life, that place in the world which had been achieved by forty-four years of work, care, and sacrifice.' There was no Bismarck to take the lead, but, in the exaltation of the moment, the nation as a whole became its own Bismarck.

When mobilisation came, says Hans von Schubert, a deep spiritual emotion ran through the whole nation and made all Germans one. The whole of great Germany, says a veteran of 1870, is one heart, one will, one man—the word 'Deutschland' stands for all of us. For Otto von Gierke those first August days were a 'miracle of God.' An anonymous writer felt it 'a blessedness' to be a German at that moment: 'Like a *Leitmotiv* out of a swelling symphony there awoke at that moment, in the thousand-voiced units, the very soul of the German people.'

The new experience, says Johannes Müller, came to the

German people unmeditated and unsought—like an elementary happening, as a grace, a light, an uplifting, a renewing. Müller's testimony does not stand alone. In 'Der Deutsche Volksgeist 'im Kriege,' Otto von Gierke declares that the impulse of the unexampled uplifting of the nation's soul filled men with holy awe, and later on he speaks of a 'comprehension of the conditioning of each individual life by the life of the community, 'the sense of a dutiful obligation to subordinate one's personal 'interests to the claims of the commonweal, the will to 'endeavour, to suffer, and to renounce for the sake of the 'whole.'

A teacher who was killed in the early part of the war wrote: 'The war has taught me to take life more seriously, has taught 'me to understand duty and exertion, and brought me to their 'level.' The man who wrote this had discovered, or had come very near to discovering, what Dr. Heinrich Spitta calls the 'highest positive content of death,' to wit—death as a freely willed sacrifice for a higher life.

Unity and sacrifice—these, if we can trust our texts, were the notes of Germany's war effort. The war, according to Dr. Ludwig Heyde, has altered the whole of thought for a very large part of the nation. The relation of the individual to the things outside himself has become quite different from what it was before the war—from what, without the war, it would still be. That the individual is nothing, the community (the State) everything—this truth found expression everywhere. Martin Rade hoped that, as 1870-71 had given the Germans political unity, so 1914-15 would give them social unity and thus make them a nation in the highest sense of that word. In the German mind it was a question whether Germany continued to exist or not exist—*sein oder nicht sein*. That which hung in the balance was for the Germans the greatest of earthly things. It was Germany herself—their inheritance, their hope, their very life. What 'England' meant to us, that 'Deutschland' meant to them.

According to the writers of these pamphlets the German armies were fighting for Germanism, which seemed in their conception to be a distinctive kind of life, grounded in the world's moral order and possessing a universal value. That life is the *telos* of Germany's history, and its connexion with

the spiritual ground of things gives a religious character to German patriotism and Germany's war effort, and makes the war 'a holy war.' But it became such through the intervention—the unexpected intervention—of England. A war with France and Russia was merely a big war. But when England intervened—we are trying to interpret our texts—the situation was radically transformed. The war was no longer a large incident in continental politics; the spiritual values at stake made it at once a tragedy in the moral order.

Again and again these pamphlet writers speak of Germany as contending for the highest of earthly possessions. The word *Güter* is a generic one, and covers all the things that men prize and love—from the 'goodies' of children to the ecstasy of the saintly mystic—even basè war aims, because worth gaining, would be *Güter*. We may not however overlook the adjective—'highest.' The Germans thought their armies were fighting, not merely for earthly values, but for the highest of earthly values, and when one looks at the value they specify, it is impossible to say that the adjective is misapplied. Men who believed they were fighting 'for German folk and Fatherland, 'for the young Germany of the future, for man and humanity,' had discerned in their nation's war effort no ignoble term. Thus Wilhelm Meyer—'Pfarrer in Spielberg'—in an Easter sermon incidentally described the war as a 'great conflict for 'Truth, Freedom, Right.'

To not a few, this German definition of Germany's war aims will be utterly amazing and wholly incredible; but that the Germans did verily believe it seems indubitable. Dr. Dryander, though a Court chaplain, only voiced the feelings of his country when he said—in a sermon preached at the opening of the Reichstag on 4th August 1914—'If ever there was a just cause 'it is ours.' This moral confidence was no small part of their strength in the first year of the war, and it was then their ultimate assurance of victory. It assured them that the 'German land, fragrant with flowers, was safe in the fatherly 'hand of God.'

'During these last weeks and days, world history—world judgment—has mutely and irresistibly declared, in the fire of its testing, "Every result is a judgment of God." There is nothing clearer than this fact: the spirit of moral truth has conquered, and that spirit is our spirit.

And if we were to reckon up our account now, we would look forward with confidence to the final judgment of history.'

One must always make an allowance for preachers. Yet, when every allowance has been made, it does seem to us who remember Poland a most audacious thing for a German preacher to talk about freedom. The point however is one of vital importance. Unless it be understood, the meaning of the war—the meaning it had for Germans—will altogether escape us. Consider the situation in which Germany found herself before the outbreak of war—rather, consider the German view of that situation.

An industrious people, pre-eminent in the arts of peace, had built up in Central Europe a great industrial polity. Germany however was far from being, and could not be made, 'a self-contained Empire.' The German homeland was too small a market for German produce, and too small a foundation for the great fabric of German industry. Expansion had become necessary—not, or not merely, for the realising of a political dream, but in order to assure unto the German people their daily bread. Yet, whatever the direction in which the Germans turned, they found the way blocked. Every 'place in the sun' was already occupied. Germany was hemmed in; she was in a straight jacket not free to develop. 'Not free'—that was their great complaint.

When the Germans said they were fighting for freedom, they were thinking primarily of freedom to expand for the nation—not of freedom for the individual. The right to opportunity for growth, room for expansion which (from their point of view) had become necessary, had been denied to her; and they blamed England. Leo Sternberg described the war as a war for Germany's right to live—'für sein Lebensrecht.' Therefore, the war was felt to be a 'Befreiungskrieg'—a 'War of Liberation' from the throttling bands in which they were held.

Moreover, in the eyes of these Germans, England by her omnipresent sea-power was not the enemy of Germany alone, but the potential enemy of every nation. As long as she maintained the rule that private property could be captured at sea, she had the world power, and other nations traded only by her permission. The victory of Germany would put an end to this unjust rule. 'English *Marinismus* (i.e., the claim of

'England to rule the seas) means enslavement of all civilised peoples of the earth. Together with the militarism of Moscow and the whole Russian Knout-regiment, it forms the greatest danger to the civilisation and culture of the world.'

But beyond the idea of material progress, and quite independently of the idea of self-defence, there is another idea which pervades the earlier German pamphlets and which is insisted upon by German idealists. They think that Germany contributes something which no other nation could contribute to human progress, and for this reason a moral duty is laid upon Germany to extend her influence and to make herself a world power. They admit that Germany has not become united through peaceful means in bringing about the rise of the German State, acknowledging that neither the war against Austria in 1866 nor the Franco-German War was a war of defence. These conflicts, they argue, created new States which partly prepared the way for and partly brought into existence a German State. They regard the whole commercial and diplomatic work of the previous fifty years in truth merely as a peaceful development and continuation of what the war attempted to complete.

The German faith is a belief in the moral and spiritual inwardness of 'Germanism,' the belief of a German in himself, in his future and in his world task, and such a faith is at the same time a real religious faith in something one can neither see, nor measure, nor weigh, and is also a belief in the rule of the Deity who governs the world, 'who has made us one of the greatest peoples, who will not forsake us and not betray us, because our spirit is spirit of his spirit, and who has ordered us to trade in our world task with the "talent" entrusted to our care.' The carrying out of this idea they know clashes with Christian ideals; but they maintain that the gulf can be bridged, and that a man may carry out his duties as a German soldier and at the same time derive comfort from his prayer book.

They treat the evolution of Germany somewhat like that of an insect going through different stages—caterpillar, chrysalis, and the perfect butterfly. Peace or war, as the case may be, are stages in its growth. In the war stage, art and science and philosophy must necessarily stand aside, not because there is any contradiction between them and the state of war, but

because they are all different steps in the development of the German State.

'Germanism' has no one form, but it shows itself only in the State and by means of the State. To the man in the street it may appear as an emperor or a king or a grand duke, as an officer or an official or a self-governing commune.

'The State is only the embodiment and the creation of a common honour, the expression of a constant moral will, the carrying out of industrial and spiritual growth, not a gigantic formula of collective egotism but an ever new founding of moral self-denial and the formation of a collective will which on its side shares its worth and glory with the individual citizen.'

This accounts for the fact that the clergy and theological professors of Germany, a large number of whose sermons and speeches have been published, call God to witness that the blame for the outbreak of war does not rest on the shoulders of Germany. They are loud in their indignation at the cruelties perpetrated on German soldiers and wounded, and inveigh in no measured terms against the slanders spread abroad by their enemies, and especially by England. They insist that the Almighty has need of Germany, that they are fighting for God, and more than one pamphlet quotes the late Friedrich Meyer's dictum :—

'God has need of Germany. There can be no progress without Germany. Whom does He choose to further the development of mankind? The English with their hypocrisy and selfishness? The Latin races with their tendency to degeneration? Or forsooth the dollar loving Americans? Or perhaps the Japanese? He cannot do without us; He needs the German race.'

When war was declared it appears to have been commonly thought that the entrance of England into the war was not of vital importance. England's army was believed to be negligible. No one dreamt that conscription would be introduced by her and the importance of sea-power was not fully recognised. The Germans did not know that the effect of a naval blockade, strictly enforced, must bring Germany to her knees, nor did any one imagine that such a thing could be carried out effectually. The pamphlets therefore at the outset only deal with Russia's intervention, and are directed to show that the Tsar had always planned to crush Germany, and with this purpose had mobilised in the early part of 1914.

We may, however, pass over these particular pamphlets and turn to those which were written when it was evident that England would probably be a deciding factor in the issue. When this occurred we find a discussion as to her reasons for joining France and Russia. None of the writers believe that England joined the Allies because Germany invaded Belgium; they think that both England and France had long ago contemplated ignoring Belgium's neutrality, and were annoyed because Germany, knowing their plan, had taken the initiative.

The pamphlet writers trace the origin of England's action to what they call the attempt of King Edward VII. to isolate and depress Germany, quite oblivious of the fact that the late King regarded Germany's increasing fleet as a menace to England, and was bent on securing allies for England if peace should ever be broken. England's entry into the war was, they argue, the natural outcome and intended completion of this alleged policy of 'encirclement,' of which King Edward was 'the parent and 'spiritual author' (Professor Oncken). Dr. Kurt von Rümker holds that this policy was itself a careful preparation for war. Dr. Meyer, of Rostock, on the other hand, says that this policy did not intend war; it was an attempt to gain a diplomatic position so strong that Germany would be compelled to allow the scope of her transmarine and eastern policies to be prescribed by England. Dr. Felix Salomon holds a similar opinion. For King Edward, he says, the encircling of Germany was not an end: it was a means to an end—a means for securing to England a free hand for the carrying out of an imperialistic programme. In another passage he tells us that 'the school of 'King Edward, Grey and Churchill' considered that the best way of ensuring the continued existence of the British Empire was to annihilate Germany as a political, industrial, and maritime Power.

This view is adopted by the writers of practically all the pamphlets, and is illustrated by the following passages from three representative writers:—

'We know what England is really fighting for. In spite of all that is said, the true reason why England has entered into this conflict lies in her burning desire to destroy Germany—her great business competitor, economically—in the markets of the world.' ('Der britische Krämerkrieg.' Walther Lohmeyer.)

'There was a time—but a few months have elapsed since it has gone by—when we asked again and again, in a friendly spirit, just for one thing. Let us take our place in the world; we are a people of eight million traders and twenty-six millions of working men. We are no longer able to feed ourselves at home. Let us go forth to earn our daily bread. Men of England, give us a free pathway in the world, let us enjoy it in peace, and we will be good neighbours, and forget the past. Open the way of peace, of economic life, and of culture. We would be a people carrying forth, not only the culture of Goethe and Schiller, but the culture of our national dreams and of our sacrifice, in the breath of German folksongs, songs of love and fidelity, and of those precious things which are more important than merchandise and profit. These good angels follow the merchant out into an expectant world. The German trader knows it, and is proud to be a pioneer of German life. Leave us free to take this road, Englishmen!' ('Deutschland und England vor den Schranken des Weltgerichts.' Richard Stehmann.)

'England found no antagonist in the markets of the world in a Germany torn by political dissensions, but she found competition in a united German Empire. There was a desire to disunite us. That is the inner meaning of this war. It is Germany's high moral right and inevitable duty to protect its hardly-won unity to the last. This right is incontestable. Our adversary has laid this upon us by a deep moral compulsion.' ('Wofür kämpfen wir.' Ernst Schwalbe.)

The German Government had practical control over the press long before the war started either by subsidising it or by the fact that it controlled official advertisements. It was therefore in the position to prevent any paper of whose political views it disapproved from being carried on successfully. When the war broke out it had in addition a strict censorship of news. By this means the brutalities in Belgium and the cruelties perpetrated on the crews of British merchant ships were concealed from the German people. The German Government was also able to convince the German people that only fortified towns and harbours had been attacked, and that the war was being conducted according to accustomed usages.

As soon as the German people were made aware of the barbarities in Armenia many of them expressed their opinions with no uncertain voice. They felt that they were morally and in the sight of the world responsible for the actions of Turkey. Strongly worded communications against the persecution meted out to the Armenians were sent to the German Chancellor, Bethman Hollweg, by German societies, by the German Eastern Mission, by private individuals, by the Director of the German

Society for Christian work in the East, and by German military men. German public opinion was angry with the Turks. Dr. Niepage, the Headmaster of the German school in Aleppo, gave a most heartrending account of what was happening there, and called on the German Foreign Office to take immediate steps to put a stop to this appalling state of things. He ended his letter with an entreaty

‘to free us German teachers from the disgrace which not only Christians, but also Mohammedans lay to our charge, and which the whole world will also shortly lay. . . . There are numbers of respectable Mohammedans who regard these massacres of women and children with abhorrence as a sin against the God of Pity, and who, unable to believe that their own Government is the originator of such horrors, blame the German Government. Horrible stains and blots threaten to disfigure the shield of honour of Germany, and will be remembered for ever by the Eastern peoples.’

On the other hand most Germans defended the torpedoing of merchant ships as a measure of self-defence to prevent military supplies reaching enemy countries. The *Lusitania* was commonly held on the Continent to have had a large cargo of military stores on board. They argued also that it was a necessary means of preventing the threatened starvation of the German people by England’s blockade, regardless of the fact that the torpedoing preceded by several months the establishment of the rigid blockade.

When a German speaks of German culture he is thinking of the higher human interests—artistic, intellectual, moral, spiritual—and of a life informed and guided by those interests. Professor Schäfer has a disquisition on the difference between civilisation and ‘culture.’ The difference, he says, is one of gradual growth, and has not yet been accurately defined.

‘It must, however, now be brought out sharply. Liebig used to say that the “Kultur” (*i.e.*, the civilisation) of the nations could only be measured by their use of soap. Goethe also used the word in a similar sense in *Faust* :—

‘Auch die Kultur die alle Welt beleckt
Hat auf den Teufel sich erstreckt.’

According to the present use of language these externals are matters of civilisation, which, under the influence of a highly developed world trade, has in recent times given to the customs

and manners of nations so much external similarity. Civilisation we may say subsists in the sphere of external existence. 'Kultur'—in the sense in which Professor Schäfer says that we should use the word—is something deeper. It goes down to the very essence of life, to the spiritual and moral foundations of conduct. In a similar sense one pamphleteer writes that German culture has its value for the world, and that it cannot be destroyed without heavy loss to humanity. 'In defending 'our own German Fatherland, we are defending not only our 'own existence, but also and equally the brain of the world, 'the noblest organ which the whole culture of mankind has 'hitherto been able to build up.' This suggests that the destruction of German culture would be similar in kind to the destruction of some great masterpiece of art. Dr. Schäfer's co-workers, however, have more than this in mind when they say that the war was a war for the very foundations of European culture, for the 'ideale Güter' of humanity, for the highest values of civilisation. In effect they contend that it would be a calamity for the world at large if Germany were beaten, for the nations would then pass under a condominium of England, France, and Russia which would be fatal to culture everywhere. For these writers England and Germany represent two radically different kinds of life, two radically different types of civilisation. The English stand for materialism; their country is the modern Carthage. Germans, 'das innerlichste Volk,' stand for idealism—not for dreams, but for ideals wedded to practice.

Germany is the very citadel of culture. If that citadel be cast down, culture will not be able to make a stand anywhere, and England's materialism will dominate the world. Therefore Germany's interests are identical with the general cultural interests of the whole human race, and 'Germany is contending 'for the highest interests of mankind—is fighting the battle of 'all "Kulturvölker."

We can now begin to understand how it came about that, in these men, assurance of their country's victory was a form of their faith in God. The higher values must win—theirs were the higher values, therefore they must win—that was their pathetic confidence.

C. HAGBERG WRIGHT.

THE AGRARIAN MOVEMENT IN CANADA

1. **The New National Policy.** By the CANADIAN COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURE. Winnipeg. 1920.
2. **Production and Taxation in Canada.** By W. C. GOOD. Toronto: J. M. Dent. 1919.
3. **Deep Furrows.** By HOPKINS MOORHOUSE. Toronto: G. J. M'Leod. 1918.
4. **The Farmer and the Interests.** By CLARUS AGER. Macmillan & Co. 1916.
5. **The Revolt in Canada.** By EDWARD PORRITT. Cassell & Co., for the Cobden Club. 1911.

A T recurring intervals in the last century agrarian movements have enlivened the course of North American politics and provided temporary anxieties for the managers of established parties. It is generally admitted that their activities have been responsible for wide readjustments of the programmes of existing parties, though hitherto they have failed to establish themselves as permanent political organisations either in the United States or Canada. But no agrarian insurgency in either country has ever assumed the formidable relative dimensions of the organised farmers' movement which is to-day the dominant feature of Canadian political life. Beginning in its first aspect as an economic movement, it developed a political side which was at first restricted to agitation and the construction of a platform. But from building a political platform the farmers have moved forward to the establishment of a political party.

The movement has had two predecessors in Canada, both repercussions from parallel movements in the United States. In the eighties there was the Grange movement, which directed its efforts towards economic organisation rather than political action. In the nineties there was a political revolt of agrarian insurgents who called themselves the Patrons of Industry. Enjoying the chaperonage and help of the formidable pen of Goldwin Smith, who edited their paper, the Patrons elected members to the Federal, Ontario, and Manitoba Parliaments, and helped materially in 1896 to compass the great Tory debacle and bring Laurier to power. The victorious Liberals however stifled the independence of the Patrons' leaders with

offices and other seductions, and as a result the movement languished and had practically died out by 1900. About that date the farmers of the prairie provinces began to think that the glories of the great Canadian boom contained meagre blessings for themselves and that they were at the mercy of a close and aggressive ring of what are familiarly called 'interests'—elevator men, bankers, millers, manufacturers, railway directors, and merchants who controlled rigidly the whole machinery of finance, transportation, and markets. A good account from a partisan standpoint of the economic disabilities whose pressure led to the farmers' insurgency is given by 'Clarus Ager,' a *nom de plume* which conceals the identity of a well-known Manitoba lawyer who has farming interests. Mr. Porritt's book is practically a sequel to his well-known 'Sixty Years' Protection in Canada,' and tells with undisguised glee of the early stages of the political revolt which in his former volume he declared was the only hope of economic salvation for Canada.

In 1902 a few brave spirits at Sinaluta, in Saskatchewan, formed the first Grain Growers' Association, and apostles went forth to form other branches in the adjacent districts. Their first activities were political, and their pressure on federal members secured some beneficial amendments to the Grain Act, the appointment of the Railway Commission, and other minor reforms. But their leaders speedily realised that political action alone would avail little without invasion of the economic field, and in 1906 the Grain Growers' Grain Company was established with a modest capital of \$5000. Its early trials were truly desperate; the Winnipeg Grain Exchange denied it admittance to its floor; the banks were hostile, and the whole business community eyed the new movement with unfriendly suspicion. But it fortunately found two able leaders in Mr. T. A. Crerar, late Minister of Agriculture in the Coalition Government, who supplied business brains and idealism, and Mr. John Kennedy, a veteran who combines a burning passion for rural improvement with great skill in propaganda work.

There were many dark days to live through and stiff crises to surmount; but courage, ability, and a good cause prevailed, till to-day the economic organisations of the farmers are in a position of almost unassailable strength. At first they confined

their activities to the marketing of grain, but they gradually launched out into other enterprises. Taking as their base of operations the chain of elevators which they own, they now distribute to their members most of the staple commodities like coal, flour, and fruit, in bulk. Numerous local branches have established local co-operative stores. They have purchased a timber limit in British Columbia, have erected a sawmill, and are now in the lumber business. They have a share in a flour mill, and intend to expand their milling activities in the near future. When they began to sell agricultural machinery, the Canadian manufacturers declined to deal with them on account of their anti-tariff propaganda, but they made satisfactory arrangements to purchase their supplies from certain American factories. In Western Canada it is now widely argued that it is more patriotic to buy imported goods and so increase the public revenue by the duties paid on them, than to purchase domestic products whose price is swollen to the same level for the benefit of protectionist profiteers.

The parent company is designated United Grain Growers Ltd., being the fruit of an amalgamation between the Grain Growers' Grain Company and the Alberta Co-operative Elevator Company. The subjoined figures record the steady growth of the original companies and the amalgamated organisation :—

CANADIAN CO-OPERATIVE GRAIN COMPANIES

	Grain Growers' Grain Company.			
	Sept. 1/06.	June 30/07.	Aug. 31/14.	Aug. 31/17.
Capital paid up - - -	\$5000	\$11,795	\$771,409	\$1,357,382
Grain receipts (bushels) -	...	2,340,000	29,920,225	27,722,552
Profits - - - - -	...	\$790	\$151,080	\$607,899

	Alberta Elevator Company.		United Grain Growers.	
	June 30/14.	Aug. 31/17.	Aug. 31/18.	Aug. 31/19.
Capital paid up - - -	\$101,639	\$563,689	\$2,159,763	\$2,415,185
Grain receipts (bushels) -	3,774,396	16,375,333	29,879,672	22,203,007
Profits - - - - -	\$17,216	\$131,251	\$441,760	\$148,549

United Grain Growers also control various subsidiary companies designed to segregate their varied activities.

Unfortunately there is a temporary schism in the co-operative movement in Western Canada, which must be healed ere complete success is possible. The United Grain Growers have secured the allegiance of all the organised farmers of Manitoba and Alberta and have a foothold in Saskatchewan. But the great majority of the farmers of the latter province, whose grain crop exceeds the combined product of its two neighbours, support a separate institution called the Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator Company, which maintains itself as a distinct entity. In certain directions there is a deplorable spirit of rivalry between the two companies. Personal susceptibilities are partly responsible for the cleavage, but there are distinct divergences of policy. United Grain Growers Ltd. have refrained from entering into competition with the country stores in the sale of what are known as 'shelf goods,' *i.e.*, commodities which people purchase in small quantities, like tea and spices ; but the Saskatchewan Company have boldly undertaken every line of business, and earned thereby the hostility of the country storekeepers. Secondly, the Saskatchewan Company have always had close affiliations with their provincial government, who have made liberal advances out of the public funds for the construction of their elevators ; the older company has steadily eschewed all such entanglements.

But there is an even more serious divergence. There is one flaw in the fabric of United Grain Growers Ltd. which would arouse the criticism of co-operative purists like Sir Horace Plunkett and Mr. Henry Woolf. They are a joint stock company and pay dividends on the ordinary capitalist plan, with the qualifying restriction that no single individual can hold more than \$2500 stock or exercise more than a single vote at shareholders' meetings. There are forty thousand odd shareholders, and the average annual dividend cheque which is issued to them does not exceed \$5, so that the purely pecuniary motive can have little influence upon the policy of the company. The Saskatchewan Company on the other hand follow the Rochdale plan of patronage dividends and can claim to be genuinely co-operative. The directors of United Grain Growers Ltd. defend their continuance of the ordinary dividend system on the

ground that they have thereby been able, by refraining from complete distribution of the profits, to build up very necessary reserves, extend the scope of their enterprises, and conduct their campaigns of propaganda and education without which the movement would never have spread to other provinces and attained its present strength and success. But it may be retorted that the English and Scottish co-operative organisations have been able to build up reserves and extend their fields of enterprise while following the Rochdale plan. However, the directors of United Grain Growers Ltd. have announced that the policy of genuine co-operative distribution of dividends will be adopted in the near future.

The official organ of the movement, the *Grain Growers' Guide*, was enabled to surmount the difficulties of its early years by means of annual subsidies from the surplus profits of the trading company. Enjoying now a circulation of 80,000, it is a fine newspaper property and commands great political influence in Western Canada. The *Guide* has now been reinforced by three other weekly papers, which act as organs of the agrarian movement in different quarters of Canada—the *Farmers' Sun* of Ontario, the *Western Independent* of Alberta, and the *United Farmers' Guide* of the Maritime Provinces, the last named being under the same management as the *Western Guide*.

In the prairie provinces unity between the two rival companies must be achieved if the movement is to realise its full possibilities. In British Columbia the farmers find contact difficult owing to geographical barriers, but there is the nucleus of a co-operative organisation. Its greatest strength is in the Fraser River Valley, where the dairy farmers have formed a most efficient co-operative company to supply the city of Vancouver with their produce. But the most successful missionary work has been done in Ontario. In half a dozen years the United Farmers of that province have built up an extensive co-operative structure. Its business turnover increased no less than 500 per cent. in 1919, and its live-stock department has completely broken down the monopolist control of the meat packers' ring. Even in Quebec, which is supposed, quite erroneously, to be impervious to all modern ideas, the dairy farmers have established co-operative institutions for the sale and manufacture of their produce, with the result that the province to-day surpasses all others in the

excellence of its butter and cheese. The Quebec farmers are also rallying to the support of a distributive and supply agency which some enterprising spirits have set up for them on a co-operative basis in Montreal. The farmers of the little province of Prince Edward Island have old standing habits of co-operation, but at present they are not linked up with the rest of the movement. Great progress is being made in New Brunswick, where the United Farmers are conducting a central supply depot and a gradually increasing number of stores. In Nova Scotia the fruit growers of the Annapolis Valley and other districts have practised co-operation with success for many years and the farmers are beginning to imitate their example.

To-day there is not a single province in Canada which is not thoroughly infected with the co-operative fever, and the rapid expansion of the movement is inevitable. Much still remains to be accomplished by way of unification and co-ordination of the business operations of these scattered bodies ere their full benefits can be available for the farming community. But the foundations have been well and truly laid for the upbuilding of a vast organisation, which bids fair to produce the same excellent results as its counterpart in Denmark for the betterment of the national life.

These co-operative organisations—created, developed, and directed by farmers—have clearly demonstrated their capacity to enter the commercial field of distribution and supply and compete successfully with old established firms and corporations; they have effectually silenced the prophets who foretold ruin and disaster for the experiment. Simultaneously the farmers of Canada have shown a parallel capacity for political thought and organisation. Very wisely however they took to heart the lessons of the past and made economic organisation precede their active invasion of the political sphere. In the minds of the finer spirits the establishment of good citizenship, as a settled practice of life for men and women, was as important as an improved economic order, and while the economic structures were being reared, the social and political side of the movement were quietly and steadily fostered. Responsible adults in Canada have three spheres of citizenship—the local municipality, the Province, the Dominion. Hence the farmers have established, first, local societies or clubs; secondly, provincial associations, which include

and co-ordinate the local units; and thirdly, the Canadian Council of Agriculture, which is composed of five delegates from each of the provincial bodies and each of the co-operative companies, one delegate from each provincial association being a woman. By this arrangement the organisation is made to run parallel with the representative institutions of the country.

The local societies provide invaluable social nuclei for a rural population often composed of different races. They hold concerts and debates in winter, and in summer, picnics—often flavoured by political speeches. They promote education on agrarian problems and conduct propaganda for the cause. Their influence is directed to electing local officials who are not hostile to their views. The provincial associations hold annual conventions, whose proceedings attract nowadays as much attention as the performances of the corresponding legislature and are often conducted with greater ability and earnestness. At the conventions policies are threshed out, programmes amended and resolutions passed for submission to Cabinets and legislative bodies. At these meetings the leaders of the movement give accounts of their stewardship to intelligent and critical audiences, and reputations are made and unmade.

The Canadian Council of Agriculture, which now claims the allegiance of 150,000 actively enrolled supporters, is mainly concerned with matters embraced in the sphere of Federal politics, but it also acts as the general staff of the whole movement, being responsible for the working out of policies and the co-ordination of activities. It came into existence in 1909 at Toronto with the present Premier of Ontario, Mr. E. C. Drury, as its first secretary. It derives the necessary financial support from a levy on the component bodies and maintains a central office in Winnipeg, which is in charge of the present secretary, Mr. Norman Lambert, a journalist of ability and experience. The president, who naturally is a most important figure in the public life of Canada, is Mr. R. W. E. Burnaby, a well-known Ontario cattle breeder.

The Canadian Council of Agriculture moved very cautiously in the direction of political action and for several years resisted strong pressure from the rank and file to organise an independent political party. They passed innumerable resolutions, exposed the misdeeds of their opponents, drew attention to

grievances and exercised, when the occasion demanded, pressure upon ministers and members at Ottawa. They organised the tumultuous gatherings of protest which faced Sir Wilfred Laurier with irate demands for tariff reforms on his western tour in 1910, and backed them up with the massed deputation which conducted what was known as the 'Siege of Ottawa.' The result was the Reciprocity Treaty of 1911, which was defeated by three factors—the weakness of a Cabinet of tired and ageing men, the scandalous use of the 'loyalty' cry, and the inroads made by Mr. Bourassa and his Nationalists, fighting solely on the naval issue, upon Laurier's stronghold in Quebec. This election was in reality a Pyrrhic victory for the protectionist interests of the cities. The farmers simply hardened their hearts and prepared to renew the battle at the earliest opportunity. When another vast deputation in 1912 found Sir Robert Borden unresponsive to their pleas, they went home to carry on a vigorous campaign of political education, and after the manner of good husbandmen to prepare carefully the soil for the crop which was to be sown. Events were moving towards the formation of a separate western Radical party when the war clouds appeared on the horizon in 1914 and forced a cessation of all political projects. During the war the Council held regular meetings and proved on many occasions an invaluable ally to the Government in organising the national war effort and stimulating greater food production.

As the war dragged on it became obvious that, whatever the outcome might be, far-reaching changes in the economic and social structure were inevitable in all the belligerent countries. The Council of Agriculture decided that the farming community must exercise its proper voice in national reconstruction, and with that end in view determined to put forth a definite political programme which would embody the ideals and policies of the farmers' movement and serve as a base of operations for an effort to translate them into practical effect by the necessary legislation. Accordingly as the result of prolonged and careful deliberation a platform of policy, which has been variously termed the 'Farmers' Platform' or the 'New National Policy,' was constructed and published *urbi et orbi* in December 1916.

The platform drew its main ingredients from resolutions

which had been unanimously approved year after year by the annual conventions of the provincial associations, and did little more than codify a series of long-standing recommendations for economic, political, and social reforms, which had already been endorsed by the organised farmers. Further endorsement for the completed programme was secured by unanimous vote of the 1917 conventions, and in the summer of that year thousands of copies of the platform, fortified by a clear elaboration of the various planks, were distributed. The war however was occupying public attention and its publication excited comparatively little comment, though the shrewder politicians sensed a gathering storm.

The end of the war brought an immediate revival of political activity, and the Canadian people turned at once to problems and plans of reconstruction. Already by the time of the armistice a number of the items in the 'Farmers' Platform' had become law, including women's suffrage, prohibition, measures of direct taxation on incomes and business profits, and legislation aimed at the evil of patronage in contracts and the civil service. So it was decided to revise the 'Farmers' Platform' and bring it up to date and deal with the new problems which the war and its aftermath had brought to the front. Accordingly in November 1918 the Council of Agriculture in full session re-examined every item in its programme, added additional clauses and published the result under the title of the 'New National Policy,' in contrast to the 'Old National Policy,' which was the name euphemistically given to the protectionist system established by Sir John Macdonald in 1897. The salient features of the 'New National Policy' are as follows:—

'Advocacy of the League of Nations; development of the British Commonwealth along the lines of free and equal partnership; hostility to Imperial centralisation; drastic revision of the tariff by (a) a general reduction on the rates of all duties; (b) immediate increase of the British preference to 50 per cent. of the general tariff, and further annual reductions to ensure free trade with Great Britain in five years; (c) unrestricted reciprocal trade in natural products with the United States; (d) the placing of all foodstuffs, agricultural implements, farm machinery, vehicles, coal, lumber, cement, gasoline, and oils, together with the raw material used in their manufacture, on the free list; a direct tax on unimproved land values; increase of tax on income and corporation profits; a Federal inheritance tax; the conservation of natural resources; the extension of co-operative agencies to cover the

whole field of marketing, including arrangements with consumers' societies; public ownership and control of railway, water, and aerial transportation, telephone, telegraph, and express systems, all projects in the development of water power and coal mines; the reform of the Federal Senate; proportional representation; the publication of contributions and expenditure in campaign funds; the setting forth by daily newspapers and periodical publications of the facts of their ownership and control.'

This revised platform received the fullest publicity and became at once the chief topic of discussion in the Press, being received in many quarters with acute disapproval. At the farmers' conventions in the spring of 1919 it was unanimously endorsed and was put on the records of the Federal House at Ottawa by an agrarian member. The original object of the Council of Agriculture in drafting the platform and promoting its discussion was to develop an intelligent, well informed electorate rather than create a political party. But the Coalition Government, which had been formed at Ottawa in 1917 of Conservatives and Conscriptivist Liberals, had disappointed expectations, and instead of being an improvement upon either of the old parties, it seemed to the farmers to combine many of the vices of both. It failed to acquire a coherent mind and produce constructive policies. Certain events lent colour to the suspicion that the 'big interests' still retained their control over Government at Ottawa, as of yore. Suspicion became a settled conviction in rural circles. The Liberal Opposition was helpless and leaderless. As a result there arose among the farmers irresistible demands for independent political action, which had their basis in a real uprising of democratic protest against purposeless and reactionary government. The country, it was argued, had waited too long for the old parties to redeem promises of reform. If the measures advocated in the 'Farmers' Platform' were to have any chance of realisation there must be created a new party, free from the old influences and prepared to handle the 'New National Policy' without compromise.

In the spring of 1919, Mr. T. A. Crerar resigned his office as Minister of Agriculture in the Borden Government rather than accept the usual high protectionist budget, and led a small group of western members into the lobby against his late colleagues on the fiscal issue. The resignation of Mr. Crerar was the signal for the kindling of political camp fires in every

rural constituency west of the Ottawa River, and throughout the summer and autumn of 1919 an intense political activity developed. Constituencies were thoroughly prospected, political organisations established, election funds subscribed, and in some cases candidates were nominated; within a short space all the fabric and machinery of a new party came into being. Dr. Michael Clark, its ablest orator, an old Northumbrian Liberal now ranching in Alberta, christened it the National Progressive Party, but its popular title is the Farmers' Party.

Opportunities soon came of testing its strength. In October there was a provincial election in Ontario. Such contests do not rank with Federal elections in importance, but Federal and local issues are often hopelessly intertwined and the full flavour of party politics is invariably imparted to them. Ontario had returned a Conservative Government by a large majority at the last four elections, and there was not the slightest expectation that it would be displaced. But the United Farmers of Ontario managed to conclude a working alliance with the Labour Party, and to the consternation of the prophets and the managers of the historic parties succeeded in capturing an actual majority of the 111 seats. Mr. E. C. Drury, previously referred to as the first Secretary of the Canadian Council of Agriculture, became Premier of Ontario and formed a Cabinet consisting of eight farmers, two Labourites, and a Liberal Attorney-General.

Soon afterwards there came a miniature general election to fill up accumulated vacancies in the Federal House. The farmers nominated candidates in four rural seats, two being in Ontario, one in Saskatchewan, and one in New Brunswick. They were widely scattered and had been comfortably held by the Coalition in 1917, but the farmers carried them all. In November a farmer captured a traditional Liberal seat in the Alberta Legislature in face of the combined opposition of both the old parties and another was returned unopposed in Saskatchewan. In April 1920 the Government met with another electoral disaster when a Conservative was defeated in the Temiskaming division of Ontario by the joint nominee of the farmers and Labour. These results demonstrate that no rural seat in Canada outside of Quebec, which sentimental loyalty to the memory of Laurier may keep faithful to Liberalism, is safe from the assaults of the embattled farmers.

Nor can Quebec's immunity be permanently guaranteed, for attempts are now being made to form farmers' associations in that province for political purposes.

At first the politicians of the old parties were disposed to regard the agrarian insurgency as a transient ebullition of Bocotian peevishness which either would gradually subside or could be dealt with by the methods applied to the 'Patron' movement. But they are now prepared to treat it with proper seriousness. Sir Robert Borden, before illness forced his withdrawal from active affairs, had in hand the project of transforming the loose alliance of the Coalition into a permanent party, and had sketchily outlined as its basis a programme which sought by suggestions of tariff reductions and other promises to attract the more Conservative elements among the farmers. But none of his lieutenants can bend Ulysses' bow and the Coalition drifts along without internal unity, without a programme, and without an organisation, shirking most problems and settling others by futile compromises. Sir Thomas White, the ex-Minister of Finance, has been urging a formation of a National Liberal-Conservative Party to resist the radicalism of the farmers and their allies, and it is obvious that the Coalition must soon reach some decision as to its future or break into fragments.

In the past the Liberals, always professing as they did partiality for low or revenue tariffs, have been more of a 'country' party than their rivals, and their obvious tactics were to chloroform the new movement by stealing as much of its thunder as possible. If they hoped, as some of them undoubtedly did, for an immediate *rapprochement* with the farmers, they have been doomed to disappointment. The agrarians have paid not the slightest attention to Liberal overtures but have gone ahead with their own plans for a third party; their speakers are as ready to denounce the Liberals as the Coalition. Therefore neither of the old parties can take much comfort out of the existing situation, and the growth of the new movement is now recognised as having definitely closed a chapter in Canadian politics.

What developments and changes it will ultimately produce form an interesting subject of speculation. The movement was probably inevitable and is another instance of the growing

emphasis upon economic groups, which is so marked a feature of present-day politics. It is also a natural corollary of co-operative activity. When people co-operate in business, it is an easy transition to work together in politics. The co-operative societies form centres from which the enthusiasm and organisation necessary for political success can radiate. Personal ambitions have played a considerable part and a strong contributing factor was the disintegration of the two historic parties caused by the war and the formation of the Coalition Government in 1917. In the ensuing election the advocates of the Coalition, seeking to justify its creation, laid stress upon the iniquities and incapacities of the old factions. But when it was realised that the Coalition was composed almost entirely of members of the two old parties and showed no signs of producing a millennium, which the electorate was assured it would usher in, it became like its British parallel an object of bitter aversion to large bodies of its former supporters, and lost with remarkable speed the confidence of the country. The Liberals, deprived by Laurier's death of capable leadership and torn by internal quarrels, could offer few hopes of betterment. The field was alluring, the old barriers and ties had been removed and the new party simply wandered in.

In the first year of its formal existence it has developed popular support and electoral strength far beyond the expectations of its leaders. Nothing but a miracle or a strange reaction can prevent it sending to Ottawa for the next Parliament the largest group of members. As a minimum it should secure 75 out of the 235 Federal seats and be able, if it does not feel ready to assume office, to dictate terms to the old parties. If however the alliance with Labour which was developed for the Ontario provincial election, can be extended to the Federal field, the experience of Australia may be repeated and the two old parties driven to a fusion to resist the new forces. But in any event the agrarians are destined to be a very vital factor in the future politics of Canada. Their strength lies in their definite programme and clear cut aims and in their freedom from the old associations which have habitually corroded the virtue of the traditional parties. Like the British Labour Party, on the other hand, they are weak in the supply of adequate candidates and in skill in the presenta-

tion of their programme and ideas. On many issues their leaders are strangely doctrinaire and on some important questions like education show signs of a distressing conservatism. The party would find it hard to provide at present half a dozen men of Cabinet calibre, and the old parties even in the hour of their disintegration and decay retain superior reserves of intellectual training and political talent which give a formidable advantage.

The debates in the Federal House in the session of 1920 are disclosing the fact that the old parties intend to attack the intruder on their preserves on the ground that it is a 'class' organisation and therefore subversive of Canadian democracy and its institutions. Such a charge is easily made but requires examination. In its platform the agrarian movement is not a class organisation. Its programme can be properly acclaimed as a New National Policy, in that it deals with wide national issues, appeals to men of every occupation and creed and section, and asks no special favours for the farming community. In fact it expressly asks for the removal of the duties on all foodstuffs—a project to which certain rural elements offer strenuous objection. The methods of government and policies which it advocates may be wise or unwise, but it seeks no privileges for the farming community; it only aims at the removal of the special privileges enjoyed by other elements in the State.

What the most glaring of these special privileges is and the extent of its burden Mr. Good attempts to describe in his 'Production and Taxation in Canada.' Mr. Good, who has distinct literary gifts, is in the happy position of being a practical farmer with a scientific training. A graduate of Toronto University and of the Ontario Agricultural College he settled down on the family property, convinced that the earnest application of scientific knowledge and principles would mean assured success and prosperity to farmers. He has now come to believe that no amount of science and industry will suffice to bring financial prosperity to Canadian farming until the handicaps imposed by the existing fiscal system are removed. His figures of rural depopulation in Ontario, which are not denied, are very alarming and provide evidence that a protective tariff is not, as many British protectionists believe, any insurance against that calamity.

Mr. Good estimates that the present tariff duties mean an average enhancement of 30 per cent. in the prices of goods manufactured in Canada, and he works out that in 1914, as a result of the tariff, Canadian consumers paid into the Federal Treasury about \$92,000,000, and into the pockets of protected manufacturers about \$405,000,000. The figures, which would be vastly different for 1919, owing to the rise in prices, are necessarily to some extent conjectural, but they have a real basis in fact and serve to confirm the indictment laid by 'Clarus Ager.'

But if the farmers' programme has no 'class' objective, it cannot be denied that the movement is at present a 'class' manifestation in membership and control. The small towns and villages of the prairies are sympathetic to it, but elsewhere its electoral power comes from the farmer. In many districts it faces bitter hostility from the storekeepers and middlemen who dread its co-operative proclivities. In the larger towns and cities it has no real foothold, though many of the salaried classes and intellectual progressives are disposed to welcome any alternative to the existing factions. The future of the movement will largely depend upon the comparative strength of opposite tendencies within the movement itself and the attitude of the older parties. In the agrarian ranks there is one wing which is particularly strong in the Province of Alberta, and has its ablest advocate in Mr. H. W. Wood, lately President of the Canadian Council of Agriculture. This school of thought takes the view that well defined economic groups now exist; that they have organised and are seeking parliamentary expression which they will attain; that when their representatives reach Parliament, they will retain their special group identity and seek to promote its interests. But they will not necessarily be hostile to other groups, and will be prepared to co-operate with them in providing the country with the best possible Government. Mr. Wood argues that group politics are the logical outcome of events and will be hastened by the advent of proportional representation. He derides the idea of a nationwide Radical Party, and insists that the compromises necessary to maintain its existence will soon make it Conservative, corrupt, and a prey to the designs of the financial interests. The problem for the supporters of this idea is to find a form of

Government and politics which will accommodate not merely two parties but a series of groups, and also to assure sound administration in the absence of Cabinet responsibility, which must disappear under such conditions.

It is significant that both in the formation of his Cabinet and in some of his public utterances the new Premier of Ontario has shown some sympathy with these ideas. But the most evil feature of the 'class' tendency in the movement is the plan, now sedulously urged, of securing from parliamentary candidates a written resignation which will take immediate effect if they fail to abide by the 'Farmers' Platform.' There is no need to hark back to what Edmund Burke would have said to such a proposal, but it will prove in practice a fatal obstacle to the acquisition of able and independent representatives and to the attraction of outside support. The farmers will fail to induce men of ability and character to act as their 'hired men' in Parliament, and will soon find their members at a hopeless disadvantage in debate when confronted with the trained intellects to whom the manufacturing and other interests will entrust their case. But mournful talk about the evil of class movements sits ill upon the lips of the leaders of the old parties, who since 1878 have united in conniving to build up urban industrialism at the expense of the natural rural industries of the country, and have cheerfully conceded the right of the manufacturers to the special class privileges of protection. Yet most intelligent Canadians are agreed that the example is not inspiring, and deplore the possibility of permanent political divisions on the basis of economic class aspirations.

Fortunately there is another school of thought in the movement which includes Mr. Crerar and other powerful figures. This school regards the agrarian movement not as a class effort but as the nucleus of a new democracy. Its members urge thorough organisation of the farming community for political purposes, partly to secure justice for themselves, but with a larger aim of securing better economic and social conditions for the mass of the nation. They welcome the support of men of every type and occupation, and look to the gradual extension of what is now a farmers' movement into a wide popular party. They are prepared to co-operate with Labour, and hope to win

to their side large numbers of the intelligentsia and of the Great War Veterans' Association, which now has 250,000 members. They recognise that if the Liberal Opposition contains reactionary elements, it also holds more possible allies than the Coalition ranks. They propose to force to the front issues which will produce a cleavage in the Liberal Party, hoping that the more progressive elements of that party will join them, while the rest betake themselves to the National Liberal-Conservative Party which Sir Thomas White advocates. It is notorious that Sir Lomer Gouin, the Premier of Quebec, and other leading Liberals of that province are exceedingly hostile to the free trade and other proposals of the 'Farmers' Platform.' The result would be the emergence of what may be called a purified Liberal Party with a decidedly Radical bias and the retention of the two-party system. There is much to be said for the bi-party system as a form of political cement in a country so hopelessly split up as Canada is by geographical barriers and rent by deep religious and racial cleavages.

At the time of writing the tendency towards the broader outlook still has the upper hand, and as long as it prevails all fears of class domination are groundless. What the saner agrarian leaders aim at is the establishment of a new national party which will have as its main objects the propagation of radical reforms and the encouragement of the co-operative idea in agriculture and industry. Many of the items in the party programmes, if carried out, would take Canadian farmers far along the collectivist path, but the basic ideal is a co-operative agricultural commonwealth such as A. E. has so brilliantly sketched in his 'National Being.' As a preliminary, the farmers plan to subdue the aggressive and powerful urban interests which have dominated the destinies of Canada for several decades, and to diminish the handicaps under which agriculture and other indigenous industries have too long laboured. No wild extremes need ever be feared from their operations, for their main strength will always be drawn from small freehold proprietors who are unlikely in the least degree to favour Bolshevik courses. The new party need not be expected to produce any political Utopia, but as it consolidates opposition to its plans in the plutocratic interests of the country and in the greater portion of the old party machines, it promises to

produce a wholesome cleavage in Canadian politics as a welcome substitute for 'the exhausted factions and obsolete policies' which have too long desolated the life of the Dominion. Nor need the growth of the Farmers' Party bode any ill to the continued unity of the British Commonwealth. So far as it provides Canada with a practical and humane alternative to the undiluted capitalist individualism which seems likely to be preserved in the United States for some decades, it will stabilise the national unity of the Dominion and serve to reinforce existing ties with the Mother Country.

J. A. STEVENSON.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF BRITISH FARM LIVE STOCK

1. *The Government of Cattell.* By LEONARD MASCALL. 1680.
2. *Cheap and Good Husbandry.* By GERVASE MARKHAM. 1614.
3. *Four Books of Husbandry.* By BARNABY GOOGE. 1577.
4. *England's Improvement Revived.* By JOHN SMITH. 1670.
5. *Duty and Office of a Land Steward.* By EDWARD LAWRENCE. 1743.
6. *Observations on Live Stock.* By GEORGE CULLEY. 1807.
7. *A General Treatise on Cattle.* By JOHN LAWRENCE. 1805.
8. *On the Domesticated Animals of the British Isles.* By DAVID LOW. 1845.
9. *English Farming, Past and Present.* By R. E. PROTHERO. Longmans, Green. 1912.
10. *Farm Live Stock of Great Britain.* By R. WALLACE. 1889.
11. *Horses, Past and Present.* By Sir WALTER GILBEY. 1900.
12. *Farm Stock One Hundred Years Ago.* By Sir WALTER GILBEY. 1910.

FARM live stock for the present purpose means horses, cattle, sheep, and pigs, being those domesticated animals which are ordinarily bred and used in British agriculture. It is not proposed to enter into a discussion of what constitutes a breed. The term is empirical and as yet undefined, though possibly Mendelian investigators may some day enable us to arrive at a definition. At present the term connotes a variety which has so far established a distinctive position for itself as to be recognised among stock-breeders, and its status is usually marked by means of a published register, admission to which is governed by certain definite and agreed conditions. The number of so-called breeds of cattle and sheep is remarkable, and some of those in Great Britain have an extraordinarily limited habitat. It appears that, broadly speaking, breeds originated in differences caused by environment, soil, climate, situation, etc., upon which man, by selection, exercised a modifying influence so as to mould them to his purpose. Darwin, in his 'Animals and Plants 'under Domestication,' says:—

'I conclude that although slight differences in the nature of the climate, food, etc., as well as changed habits of life aided by correlation

of growth and the occasional appearance, from unknown causes, of considerable deviations of structure, have all played their parts, yet that the occasional preservation in each district of those individual animals which were most valued by each owner has perhaps been more effective in the production of the several British breeds. As soon as two or more breeds were formed in any district, or when new breeds descended from distinct species were introduced, their crossing, especially if aided by some selection, will have multiplied the number and modified the character of the older breeds.'

For the first thousand years or so of English history we know very little of the live stock as we know very little of the farming. When the Romans invaded Britain in 55 B.C., horses of a useful type for military purposes were in use, and Julius Cæsar, who was an excellent judge of such matters, has recorded his admiration both of the horses and the horsemanship of the ancient Britons. They were apparently then used only for chariots, and were not ridden in battle; indeed the Venerable Bede asserts that saddle horses were not commonly used in England until A.D. 631. Of cattle there is some evidence of the existence from the earliest times of two distinct types, viz., the *bos longifrons* and the *bos urus*, one being a small hardy breed, mostly black in colour, and the other a much larger breed, mostly either white or red, of which a few specimens, specially kept for centuries from admixture of blood, still survive in what are known as the white cattle of Chillingham. It is believed that the smaller breed represented the older inhabitants, and that the larger breed was introduced, possibly by the Romans and almost certainly by the Saxons.

The importance of the horse for military purposes led the nation at a very early period to devote serious attention to its improvement. The Danes, the Saxons, and afterwards the Normans all brought with them no doubt a certain number of horses in their invasions. In the ninth century King Alfred appointed a Master of the Horse, which suggests that the stables formed an important part of the royal establishment. In the tenth century King Athelstan passed a law forbidding the exportation of horses, an indication of a demand for English horses abroad. The improvement of the breed of horses in Norman times, and indeed throughout the Middle Ages, was directed mainly to supply for war and the chase. The introduction of armour and its development—until not only the man

but a large part of the horse also were encased in heavy mail—necessitated the breeding of a heavy type of horse capable of carrying great weights. A complete suit of armour for man and horse, preserved in the Tower of London, weighs 180 lbs., and as only a big man could wear it, we may reckon that the horse would have to carry about 30 stones (420 lbs.). Horses for draught would also require to have plenty of weight and stamina to traverse the roads of those days, and the number used as pack horses would create a further demand for animals of a substantial type. Lighter and more active horses were no doubt bred for riding, which in the Middle Ages was the ordinary and indeed almost the only means of locomotion. For farm work oxen were mainly employed, but horses appear to have been used on the land at least as early as the eleventh century. The obligation of military service upon the cultivator of the soil frequently required the possession of a horse which would ordinarily be employed in agriculture when not requisitioned for warfare.

Cattle were largely kept by the tenants of a manor, and so far as there was any attempt at improving them the object was to develop the best type for the plough. But under the common field system any deliberate attempt at improvement was almost impracticable. When the stock of every man grazed together indiscriminately there was no inducement to improve by individual enterprise, though it is possible that some control over the village bulls may have been exercised. One can imagine some early enthusiast with a natural eye for a beast, seeking to persuade his fellows to keep the most promising bull-calves for use in the common herd, and gradually by his personal influence and persistence raising the level of the local stock.

In the case of sheep as of cattle the difficulties of improvement under common field cultivation were great and obvious, but with sheep as well as cattle any attempts to improve were directed to a single end. As the draught ox was the object of the cattle-breeder, the production of wool was the object of the sheep-breeder. The general utility of the sheep for mutton, for milk, and as a manure distributor was recognised, but its fleece was the main purpose of its existence. Wool was the one great textile commodity of Europe in the

Middle Ages. Silk and cotton were exotic products, and only used by the wealthy, while linen was, in comparison with wool, but little used. The sheep therefore was the main source of the clothing of man, and all its other qualities were subsidiary to this primary function. Under the incentive of the demand for wool, the earliest systematic attempts at improving farm stock were probably made with sheep, and certain districts of Shropshire, Gloucestershire, and Lincolnshire became famous for local breeds, the wool of which was held in special esteem and had a widespread reputation.

Pigs, though they were the chief meat-producing animals of the agricultural community in the Middle Ages, were little heeded. They picked up their own living for the greater part of the year, ranging over the waste and woodlands. They were big, flat-sided, long-legged animals, and activity and hardiness were their principal qualities, both being developed by natural selection and adaptation to their conditions, rather than by any deliberate attempt by farmers to cultivate them.

There is in fact little to say about live stock in England until the latter part of the sixteenth century, when the progress of enclosure, the introduction of the commercial spirit into rural life, and the awakening of interest in agriculture led to a serious interest in the kind of animals which farmers kept. Some of the numerous writers on agriculture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries devote attention to live stock. The first English book exclusively devoted to the management of stock was published in 1591 by Leonard Mascall, and was frequently revised and republished under the title of 'The Government of Cattell' during the seventeenth century. It is mainly concerned with descriptions of the various diseases and ailments affecting stock and the remedies for them which the author had gathered and collected. 'Whereupon,' as he says, 'I thought it good to 'take occasion for the love of my country and commonwealth 'to write somewhat, partly of the government of our most used 'cattell as oxen, kine, calves, horses, sheep, hogs and such like.' He describes in some detail the points of good animals, and he begins by recognising the existence of different varieties of oxen which he says 'are according to the region and country 'where they are bred: for as there is a diversitie of grounds and 'countries: so likewise there are diversities of bodies, and

‘diversities of naturall courage: and likewise diversitie in haire ‘and horne of them.’ He proceeds to point out that as there is one sort in Asia and another sort in France, ‘so likewise here in ‘England’ there is another sort, but he gives no indication of differences in English cattle, except that he distinguishes them by colour. For working oxen, he says ‘the black oxe and the ‘red oxe are the best, and the brown or grizzled oxe are next: ‘the white oxe is the worst of all colours.’ In the choice of a horse he gives the following advice:—

‘If thou have a foal with four white feet, keep him not a day;
If he have three white feet put him soon away;
If he have two white feet, send him to thy friend;
If he have one white foot, keep him to his life’s end.’

As regards sheep, he says there are two sorts, ‘the better sort ‘are those of the soft wooll, and the other the hairy wooll.’ In choosing a ram he advises that ‘when his wooll is white, faire, ‘long and staple and plaine,’ a white one should be selected, as a yellow or black one will never get a white lamb. The ram was not to be chosen for his whiteness only, but ‘when the pallet of ‘his tongue is of the same colour as his wooll.’ He prefers rams without horns to those with horns, and if they are horned, he prefers crooked horns to straight ones. Rams with horns are better in moist and windy countries, because the horns ‘defend ‘the greatest part of their head from the winde and stormes.’ We may perhaps deduce firstly that there were horned and hornless varieties, and secondly that horned sheep were mostly kept in exposed and hilly districts.

Gervase Markham, in his ‘Cheap and Good Husbandry,’ first published in 1614, gives more details. The best English cattle, he says, are bred in Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Lancashire, Lincolnshire, Gloucestershire, and Somerset. He describes those bred in Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Lancashire, and Staffordshire, as all black with large white horns with black tips. They were ‘of ‘stately shape, big, round and well buckled together in every ‘member, short-jointed and most comely to the eye.’ The Lincolnshire cattle were for the most part pied, with more white than any other colour, their horns thin, small, and crooked, their bodies tall, long, and large. They were most fitted for draught. The cattle of Somerset and Gloucestershire were generally of a blood-red colour, but otherwise like those of Lincolnshire.

Barnaby Googe, writing about the same time, in describing his own management of stock, says :—

‘I lay all my pastures severall for every kind of cattell to be by himself: in the hithermost that you see are the cattell that I fatte; in the next are my horses, my mares, and my coltes; in the next are my young breede yearlings and two yearlings . . . here next to my house are my sucklings, that are brought to their dams to sucke thrice a day and therefore ought to be near.’

The same writer quotes as an old saying that the best dung for the field is the master’s foot, and the best provender for the horse the master’s eye—a principle which is applicable to-day.

Of sheep the same writer says there are sundry breeds. The rich and ‘champion’ country—by which he apparently means the lowlands, which were mostly in arable cultivation—breeds ‘a large and a great sheepe,’ the barren and cliffy country one of ‘a reasonable stature,’ and the wild and mountainous country ‘a small and a weerish sheepe.’

As to the importance of sheep-breeding and the size of flocks, another seventeenth-century writer, the author of ‘England’s Improvement Revived,’ says :—

‘There is no creature in England or Ireland living or feeding on grass more profitable than sheep: for to my knowledge there are several gentlemen that have kept some of them five thousand, others ten, fifteen, eighteen thousand sheep alive, all at one time in several flocks, and those gentlemen have gained great estates thereby.’

The breeding of horses for pleasure and utility received an impetus in the reign of Elizabeth, who herself kept racehorses and was an accomplished horse-woman. Markham gives a list of the breeds of stallions suitable for getting horses for various purposes as follows :—For war, the courser, the jennet, or the Turk; for coursing and running, the Barbary; for hunting, the Bastar, which would appear to be a cross between a courser and an English horse, or as we should say a half-bred; for the coach, the Flemish; for travel or burthen, the English; for ease, the Irish hobby. What he terms the English horse was no doubt the old war horse, the ancestor of the present shire horse.

Carriages and coaches came into general use at the end of the sixteenth century, and races were held at Chester, Salisbury, Carlisle, and other places. In the reign of James I., a racecourse was first formed at Newmarket, which soon became, under royal

patronage, the headquarters of the English turf. Racing, though suppressed for a time by Cromwell, was revived by Charles II., who devoted much attention to the improvement of the English racehorse, sending his Master of Horse abroad to purchase stallions and brood mares, chiefly Arabs, Barbs, and Turkish horses. These were called the king's mares, and according to Walter Gilbey, the modern English racehorse is descended from them on the dam's side; its ancestors on the side of the sire were the Byerley Turk and Oglethorpe Arabian imported a quarter of a century later, and the Darley Arabian imported in 1706.

As regards swine Markham says that no part of England breeds better pigs than another, but he goes on to say that Leicestershire and some parts of Northamptonshire have the best, the reason being that there is there a 'great multiplicity of grain, especially beans and pulse.' In the mast countries, *i.e.*, where the pigs lived mostly in the woods, pigs were good feeders, but not large breeders, so that he says 'your wild swine is ever your least swine though your sweetest bacon.'

The general improvement of farm live stock was practically impossible, as has been said, until land was enclosed and the stock-keeper was able to keep his animals exclusively under his own supervision, and even on an enclosed farm the difficulties of carrying stock through the winter in anything like good condition were almost insuperable. A radical change in farming was therefore essential before the methods of stock-keeping could be materially altered. The agricultural reformers of the seventeenth century had foreshadowed such a change, and had to some extent indicated the lines on which it should be made, but it was reserved for the practical genius of one man to formulate the principles on which modern agricultural practice is founded.

This was Jethro Tull, born in 1674, the son of a Berkshire landowner. He settled on a farm in Berkshire in 1699, and at once began a series of experiments and observations, the results of which he published in 1731 in his 'Horse-hoeing Husbandry.' Though he is best known as the inventor of the drill, it was by his enunciation of the principles of agriculture that he most merits fame. Although his terminology is to modern ears unscientific and quaint, his descriptions of conditions of plant growth and his insistence on thorough working and cleanliness

of the soil are sound, and considering that his conclusions were arrived at by his own unaided experiments and investigations, they entitle him to be regarded as the founder of scientific agriculture. His principles were largely adopted by Lord Townshend on his Norfolk estate, where the systematic rotation of crops, based on the alternation of corn with roots and clover, was practised, and the famous Norfolk or four-course system was established.

Although it was long before the principles of Tull were generally applied throughout the country, they were adopted by the more enlightened and enterprising landowners and farmers, and especially by those who were concerned in the improvement of stock. The new agriculture solved the problem of winter keep for cattle and sheep, and enabled them to be maintained without difficulty in good and thriving condition throughout the year. About this time Edward Lawrence, in his 'Duty and Office of a Land Steward' (third edition, published in 1743), gave some hints on stock-keeping. Thus he suggested the fattening of oxen on wheat 'ground, though not 'too small.' He also advised farmers in the north to get more of the Dorsetshire or Wiltshire breeds of sheep so as to get fat lambs in the winter.

In many parts of the country individual breeders had been directing their minds to the improvement of the local breeds of stock, and in several districts advance had been made by the selection of the best specimens for breeding purposes and the rejection from the herd or flock of the worst specimens. By this simple process steadily pursued, improvement of the general level inevitably resulted. But it is again one man in particular who systematised the current knowledge, and by patient observation and experiment directed towards a definite end, established the principles of modern stock-breeding. This was Robert Bakewell, of Dishley in Leicestershire, who was born in 1726. He succeeded his father in the farm, and it is probable that as his father was eighty-eight at the time of his death in 1773, the management came into the son's hands about 1760.

The elder Bakewell had the reputation of being 'one of the 'most ingenious and able farmers of his neighbourhood.' His son was an exceptionally enterprising farmer, carrying out an extensive system of irrigation on his farm, and cultivating his

land with great skill. His inventive and inquiring spirit was shown in every part of his business. He tested the value of his ideas by frequent and varied experiment. 'This,' as one of his biographers remarks,* 'was the grand source of his power. He 'did not try to make facts square with his opinions, but his 'opinions with facts.' It was in this spirit—the true scientific spirit—that he carried out the improvement of stock. His animals in their lifetime were often submitted to experiment to prove their rate of increase in proportion to food consumed; and after their death to examination of the quality of their flesh and proportion of meat to offal. Nor was that all. Skeletons and pickled joints of specimens of the best of the Dishley cattle and sheep were kept for comparison of one generation with another. The degree of fineness of bone, the size and shape of the frame, the thickness of muscle, the depth of outside fat and quantity of inside fat, could thus be observed for the future guidance of the breeder.

It has been said that Bakewell's system was founded on his recognition of the principle that 'like begets like.' This is obviously true, but it is entirely inadequate, for this principle is laid down in the first chapter of Genesis, and has been recognised in all ages. It would be more true to say that Bakewell's achievements rest on his recognition of the principle of variation. He saw that by intelligence in selection and care in mating it was possible 'to get beasts to weigh where you 'want them to weigh'; in other words, to grow flesh on the parts where it was most profitable. He aimed at developing a shape which should give 'the greatest value in the smallest 'compass.' He maintained that such a shape is correlated with hardiness of constitution and readiness to fatten, that the shape of a barrel, swelling in the middle and gently lessening towards the ends, is the right model, and that 'the smaller the bone the 'better the shape,' and consequently the better the return for the food consumed. He challenged the old idea that frequent crossing and mixing of blood was necessary, and boldly adopted the practice of close in-breeding. There were then no breed records, and Bakewell was secretive and at times deliberately mystifying about his methods, but briefly his system may be

* W. Houseman, *Journal R.A.S.E.*, 1894.

described as aiming primarily at the economical production of the most profitable meat by means of careful selection and close in-breeding. For his materials Bakewell took those readiest to hand, the breeds of his own district.

By his day—the middle of the eighteenth century—the local breeds to which vague references are made by writers of the previous century, had with the extension of enclosure and of agricultural enterprise, become more definite in character. They were grouped in three main classes—the red cattle of the South, South-West, and West Midlands, the longhorns of the North-West and Midlands, and the shorthorns of the North-Eastern counties. Bakewell selected the longhorns which, as then kept in Leicestershire, were a ‘large, long-bodied, big-boned, coarse, ‘flat-sided kind, and often lyery or black-fleshed,’* but in North Lancashire, and parts of Westmoreland and Yorkshire, had been considerably improved. The general description of the Dishley longhorns, as moulded by Bakewell, is given as follows: Round, tight, cylindrical carcass; wide in the hips, but very little prominence in the huckle-bones; straight back, well filled behind shoulder; neck long and fine, without any superfluous skin or dewlap; horns long, taper downwards, and of a deep, yellowish colour; head fine and smooth.

Bakewell's success with cattle was however overshadowed by his achievements with sheep. There has been some controversy as to his original stock, but the evidence of George Culley, who was a pupil of Bakewell's, and afterwards visited him, and to whom he communicated probably as much as he did to any man, may be regarded as conclusive. He speaks of a certain variety of the Lincolnshire breed, which was first selected by Bakewell, who he says, ‘raised a breed of sheep unknown in any ‘former period; and which surpass all other breeds in their ‘propensity to get fat and in paying the most money for the ‘quantity of food consumed.’ Arthur Young, who also visited Bakewell, says: ‘The breed is originally Lincolnshire, but Mr. ‘Bakewell thinks, and very justly, that he has much improved ‘it.’ That the Dishley Leicesters, as they were called, were practically a new breed, whatever their original stock, was generally recognised. Culley describes them as peculiarly

* George Culley, ‘Observations on Live Stock.’

distinguished from other long-woolled breeds by 'their fine 'lively eyes, clean heads, straight, broad, flat backs, round '(barrel-like) bodies, very fine small bones, thin pelts, and 'inclination to make fat at an early age.'

The Dishley Leicesters, though smaller than the sheep from which they were produced, were still of a large type and heavy in proportion to their size. Their chief value and superiority lay in their perfect form and their aptitude to fatten, or as we should say their early maturity. The influence exerted by the Dishley Leicesters on the sheep stock of the country was immediate and widespread. Bakewell early adopted the plan of letting his rams for the season instead of selling them. At first the prices were small, but as the fame of the breed extended they increased enormously. In 1786 he made 1000 guineas by letting his rams, in 1789 he let three for 1200 guineas, and seven for 2000 guineas, while the remainder he let for 3000 guineas to the Dishley Society. This, which appears to have been the earliest breed society, was established in 1783 for the preservation of the purity of the breed and for the protection of the interests of the breeders.

Bakewell extended his experiments in breeding to the improvement of horses and pigs, but although he obtained a high level of excellence in his own stock, he did not breed them for sale to the same extent as he bred cattle and sheep, and the influence of his work in this direction was more limited. The extent to which his principles and methods of breeding permeated throughout the country is remarkable, especially when it is remembered that he published nothing. He was however very ready to receive visitors, and his hospitality was lavish. From all parts of the country, and indeed from other countries, as far distant as Russia, enterprising inquirers came to Dishley to see his stock and learn what they could of his methods. Competent writers, such as Arthur Young, Marshall, and George Culley, supplied by their descriptions information for those who could not see for themselves. The art of stock-breeding, and especially of breeding for profitable meat production, was laid down on sound lines, and although there had been isolated pioneers before Bakewell, groping their way towards the same end, it may fairly be said that the development of modern breeds of British live stock started at Dishley.

The most immediate results of Bakewell's experiments with cattle were naturally felt by the breed on which he experimented, *i.e.*, the longhorns, which in the eighteenth century were extensively kept over the North-Western and West Midland counties of England, and were the prevailing breed in Ireland, where, says Low, they had been 'naturalised . . . from a period 'of unknown antiquity.' Culley says, 'Many people contend that 'they are the native or original breed of this island,' which at any rate is evidence that in his day they had an ancient reputation. But in spite of the efforts of Bakewell and his immediate followers, the breed failed to hold its own in competition with that which rose into popularity at the same period. It may indeed be said, without paradox, that Bakewell's greatest achievements in the improvement of breeds were attained with breeds which, so far as is known (though he had at one time or another specimens of several), he never kept.

The rise of the shorthorns may be traced to Dishley, for both the brothers Collings, as well as Culley and others, were disciples of Bakewell. It is true that there were improvers of cattle in the valley of the Tees, who not only had a good class of stock, but had adopted the practice of close in-breeding before Bakewell preached it. But when Arthur Young travelled through the district in 1770, he found nothing to praise in the cattle generally. The foundation stock was the old Yorkshire or Teeswater breed, with probably some admixture by importations of Dutch bulls. This however had apparently ceased before the Collings began their work of improvement. In their hands the shorthorns developed a remarkable aptitude to fatten, and the moulding of the type was effected rapidly by skilful selection and close in-breeding. That an occasional out cross of alien blood was adopted seems probable, but if so it was quickly absorbed in the general close breeding of the herd.

It is impossible to mention all the eminent breeders who carried on the work, but the record of the shorthorns after the Collings is interwoven with the achievements and rivalries of Bates and Booth. Fashion concentrated on two strains of blood, and the structure, built upon a comparatively few animals, collapsed when the bad times came. For a time development was checked, but a fresh impetus was given to it by the work of Cruickshank in Scotland. In later years there has been a

healthy broadening of the foundations, and the craze for fashionable strains has been replaced by a reversion to the more practical aims of the earlier breeders.

As already observed, there were improvers of cattle before Bakewell, and one of those most worthy of fame is Benjamin Tomkins, of King's Pyon, Herefordshire, born in 1714. Though probably he had less clearly defined principles of breeding than Bakewell, he at any rate began systematically to make an attempt to breed cattle for the butcher as well as the plough. He was succeeded by his son, also Benjamin (whence some confusion among historians has arisen), who was born in 1745. It appears probable that the parent stock of the Hereford breed was the widespread race of whole-red cattle, of which record is found in the West and South of England from the earliest times. As in other parts, they were for centuries bred mainly for the plough, and as Herefordshire is not well adapted for dairying or for feeding stock, the line which improvement took was naturally towards the development of a class of stock which by its quality and aptitude to fatten should readily find a market among graziers in other districts. The fixing of the characteristic white markings was not in the first instance regarded as important, and indeed little more than a century ago there was a feud between breeders who preferred a white face and those who preferred a mottled face. Gradually however, and largely by the influence of bulls bred by John Hewer, the red with white face type was adopted, and other colours were eliminated. The type became fixed, and a number of enterprising and alert breeders established a breed which combined robustness of constitution with a high quality of beef.

Reference has already been made to a red breed of cattle prevalent in the West and South of England, and we have seen that Markham, early in the seventeenth century, speaks of the cattle of Somerset and Gloucestershire as generally of a blood-red colour. It may be true that colour in animals is but a superficial attribute, which may be altered in a few generations, but in the case of the Devon breed the colour appears to have been persistent so far as records extend. Culley in 1786 speaks of their 'high red colour,' and a correspondent of Arthur Young's in 1791, refers to their 'bright red colour' and their general uniformity of type. The Devons at that date had a reputation

for providing some of the finest beef, while their neatness and compactness of form, and their activity also, made them valuable as working oxen, especially in hilly districts. John Lawrence, writing in 1805, describes them as 'the speediest working oxen 'in England,' and says that 'they trot well in harness.' The systematic improvement of the breed was begun by Francis Quartly, of Molland, Devon, about 1793, although his father and other members of his family have also high claims to be included among the early improvers.

The reputation of the Devons outside their native haunts was enhanced by the fact that after trial of other breeds they were adopted by Thomas Coke, of Holkham, Norfolk, in whom, as Lord Ernle says in his 'English Farming, Past and Present,' 'the new system of large farms and large capital found their 'most celebrated champion.' Coke not only exerted an immense influence in promoting the general improvement of agriculture, but he may also be ranked among those who led the way in the improvement of live stock. Coming into his estate in 1776, at the age of twenty-two, he farmed a large part of it himself, and until his death in 1842 he was recognised as the leader of the new movement in agriculture.

With the object in the first instance of obtaining information, Coke invited farmers of the district to his house to discuss practical agricultural questions. This developed into an annual gathering, and became known as the Holkham sheep-shearing. Coke speedily assimilated all the practical knowledge which was to be derived from the traditions and methods by which the Norfolk farmers cultivated the land, and as his own experiments and improvements were extended, the annual sheep-shearing afforded the meeting-ground for all who were interested in agricultural progress. Open house was kept at Holkham for a week, and hundreds of persons gathered from all parts of the kingdom. Farmers and stock-breeders compared notes, exchanged experiences, and discussed the improvements in farming and stock-breeding which Coke advocated and practised.

The Holkham sheep-shearings may indeed be regarded as the progenitors of the agricultural show and the demonstration farm. Similar gatherings were instituted by other landowners, such as the Duke of Bedford at Woburn, and exerted a wide

influence on the improvement of agriculture. They stimulated inquiry and enterprise, and provided the means whereby the ancient isolation and parochialism of farmers were gradually modified. As Arthur Young, writing in 1809, says, 'Men have 'been taught to think, and till that moment arrives, nothing can 'be done effectively,' and among those who taught them to think, Coke of Holkham must be given a foremost place.

Coke's influence, great as it became, failed to introduce the Devons as the general stock of Norfolk. They were perhaps not specially well suited to the climate and conditions of the East Coast. It was however a tenant of the Holkham estate, John Reeves by name, who applying possibly the lessons he had learnt from Coke, began to improve the local breed of Norfolk cattle by judicious selection and combination with the old 'Suffolk Duns.' Marshall, at the end of the seventeenth century, describes the native breed of Norfolk, commonly reputed to be the direct descendants of stock introduced by the Danes, as a small, hardy, thriving race, small-boned, short-legged, round-barrelled, well-loined, thin-thighed, clean-chapped, the head fine and horns clean, middle-sized and bent upward; the favourite colour a blood-red with white or mottled face. The Suffolk Duns were believed to have been brought in the fifth century from Jutland by the Angles, who came as colonists as well as conquerors, bringing 'their slaves, their 'cattle, and their live stock, leaving no living thing behind them 'in their old homeland.' Arthur Young describes the Suffolk Duns as a polled breed spread over the whole country and famous for its milking qualities. Reeves and one or two other Norfolk men blended the two breeds, and by careful selection and mating produced a hornless red type which by the second decade of the nineteenth century came to be known as Norfolk polled, and was recognised as possessing both beef-producing and dairying qualities—in fact, a dual-purpose breed.

Low suggested, though only to dismiss the suggestion, that the old Suffolk Dun was an offshoot of the Galloway, which Robert Wallace describes as 'one of the oldest, hardiest, and 'most characteristic of all British breeds of cattle, so old that 'with the exception of the wild white cattle, no trace is left of 'the breed, or breeds, which contributed to its formation.' Though the breed is now hornless and black, in the middle of

the eighteenth century many had horns of considerable length and were red-brown in colour. The horns appear to have been systematically bred out, and it is suggested that this was a consequence of the trade which began soon after the Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland in 1603, when the graziers of the Midland and Eastern Counties bought Galloway cattle to finish for the London market. This involved driving the cattle some hundreds of miles across country, and it is very probable that the practice of dishorning was adopted for the prevention of injuries by the cattle to each other during their long journey. In course of time a polled breed was developed by selecting and breeding from those that were born without horns, though there is still an occasional tendency to produce calves with incipient horns.

The West Highland cattle are generally considered to have sprung from the same original stock as the Galloways, but however this may be they have been distinct breeds so long as any definite records exist. Culley, for example, writing at the end of the eighteenth century, recognised only six separate varieties, and describes the Polled humbled or Galloway breed, with which he associates the Suffolk Duns, and also the 'Kyloes' or Scotch breed.' The four other kinds he recognised were the shorthorned, including the varieties of the Dutch and Devonshire breeds, the longhorned or Lancashire breed, the Alderney or French breed, and the Wild breed. He is careful to explain however, that he speaks only of those which had come under his own observation, or that of his friends. His list is certainly not complete, but it is sufficient to show that no relationship between the Highland and the Galloway breeds was recognised in his day. There were two classes of Highland cattle, now merged in one breed, namely, the West Highland or Kyloe, which was found mainly in the Western Islands of Scotland (Outer and Inner Hebrides), and the Mainland Highlander. The Highlanders may be regarded as the present representatives of the ancient forest breed of Britain, modified by the conditions of the mountainous and barren country where they became domesticated. Small in size, of extreme hardiness, and with thick, shaggy hides, they were admirably adapted to endure the exposure and scanty sustenance of the Scottish Isles and Highlands. Under more favourable conditions their size in-

creased, but otherwise there is perhaps no breed which more persistently retains its ancient characteristics.

Scotland claims two other varieties of cattle, each descended from the same parent stock, but now by careful selection and improvement become highly specialised breeds, the one for beef and the other for milk. The Polled Angus, or Doddie, of Aberdeenshire, occupies, says Wallace, among Scotch cattle very much the same position that the North Devon does among English breeds, for quality of flesh, refinement of style, perfection of the rounded type of symmetry, and excellence of beef. These qualities have been developed by the patient skill of Aberdeenshire breeders. The Ayrshire has been developed with equal care and skill into one of the foremost dairy breeds in the world, its improvement dating from about 1750 to 1780. As we have already seen, the earliest attempts to develop a breed for the dairy were probably made in Suffolk, but the Suffolk Dun which was famous in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for its milking qualities has lost its separate identity, and is now merged in the Red Polls. The Ayrshire, like the Channel Islands breeds, has proceeded on the lines of specialisation for milk production.

The improvement of British stock, traceable to Bakewell, was more direct in the case of sheep than in that of cattle. In the breeding of cattle, his principles and example stimulated and informed the minds of other men, but in the case of sheep the rams he bred were widely distributed, for, as Culley wrote, his 'improved breed is making its way very rapidly into all parts of 'the Kingdom by the practice of hiring tups.' This writer gives a fair view of the principal varieties of sheep to be found in Great Britain at the end of the eighteenth century. Apart from the Dishley Leicester, which was a new breed, fourteen different breeds were then recognised. The Lincolnshire breed was hornless, with white faces and long thin bodies, distinguished mainly for the weight of wool, which ran from 8 to 14 lbs. per fleece. The mutton was well known for its coarse grain and big bones, and sold for less money per pound than any other. Culley remarks that the rich marshes of Lincolnshire were better adapted than any other district to the growth of long heavy wool, and he surmises that this fact, coupled with the high price that kind of wool made 'previous to the American

war' induced breeders to devote all their attention to wool production, and neglect the production of mutton.

This heavy-woolled sheep, associated with the Lincolnshire marshes, was distributed with slight variation through the Midlands, and as far north as Yorkshire. North of the Tees the sheep were known as Teeswater, and although of the same general type as the Lincolnshire, had a lighter fleece and longer and heavier carcass. By attending to size rather than to wool, says Culley, and constantly pursuing that object, they had become a separate variety. The influence of the Dishley Leicester had already been very great, and there were very few varieties at the end of the eighteenth century which had not been crossed more or less with the Dishley blood. The 'Devonshire Nats,' about which Culley knew very little, comprised two varieties known somewhat later as the 'Southern Notts' and the 'Bampton Notts,' both coarse breeds of large size, on which the Dishley Leicester was freely used, the result eventually being the breed now known as Devon Longwool. The Exmoor breed, an offshoot of the old mountain or forest sheep, inhabited the moors and uplands of Somerset and Devon, and although Culley did not know them as a separate variety, there is no doubt that their neighbours, the Dartmoors, were indigenous. Both were small horned breeds, very wild and active, and much famed for the excellence of their mutton.

The Dorsetshire breed were described by Culley as mostly horned, white-faced, standing on high, small, white legs, and long and thin in the carcass. They were then reputed to bear lambs twice a year, and although Culley doubts this, he admits that their peculiar quality, which made them exceedingly convenient to breed from, is that 'you can have them to lamb 'at whatever season of the year you choose so as to have that 'particular kind of fat lamb, called house lamb, which is so early 'to be found at the tables of the nobility and gentry, and even 'among our tradesmen in these luxurious times, and which are 'brought to London market by Christmas or sooner if wanted.' Culley thought that the old Wiltshire sheep, and other breeds prevailing in the South and West of England, were varieties of the Dorset breed, but this is doubtful. The old Wiltshire sheep was described by Low as affording an exemplification of almost every external character which the breeder wishes to avoid, but

in his day (1845) they were being rapidly supplanted by the Southdown, or transformed into another breed by its influence.

All the Down breeds, and especially those ranging over the chalk hills which form so well-marked a district of southern England, owe their modern development largely to the Southdown, which was the variety indigenous to the Sussex hills. The Southdown was described by Culley as having no horns, grey faces and legs, fine bones, long, small necks, low before, high on the shoulder, and light in the forequarter. He noted it as a peculiarity that the hindquarters were generally heavier than the forequarters, which was in Sussex esteemed a merit, as the butchers sold the hindquarters at a penny a pound more than the forequarters, 'a singularity that we believe is peculiar to this district, for in all the other markets we have seen the hindquarters and particularly the legs are sold for a halfpenny a pound less than the forequarters.' Culley expressed the hope that by the attention and exertions of enterprising breeders this defect would be remedied in a few years. Fortunately his advice was not taken, and the development of the hindquarters is still the particular pride of the breeders of Southdowns.

The Norfolk breed, which at the end of the eighteenth century was prevalent throughout Norfolk and Suffolk, had black faces, large spiral horns, small, long, thin bodies, on very long black or grey legs. Culley could say nothing for them except that they were good travellers, and remarks that they might be taken for a species of deer rather than sheep. The heath breed, now usually termed the blackfaced mountain breed, was described by Culley as having large spiral horns, black faces, black legs, a fierce wild-looking eye, a short firm carcass covered with long, open, coarse, shagged wool. They were well adapted to their habitat on the hills and mountains of northern England and Scotland. Another mountain breed was the Herdwick, found mainly on the hills of Cumberland.

It was on the lines of mutton first and wool second that the improvement of British sheep from the days of Bakewell proceeded. John Ellman, of Glynde, who did for the shortwools, and especially the Southdowns, what Bakewell did for the longwools, followed this policy. The result has been to modify

and in some cases practically to abolish many of the old unthrifty varieties, and to replace them by breeds which are better adapted to the requirements of modern farmers. The Shropshire, the Hampshire Down, the Oxford Down, the Suffolk, the Border Leicester, the Wensleydale, the Devon Longwool, the Romney Marsh, are all instances of breeds established since Bakewell's day.

Attempts to improve the breed of horses for farm work were made by Bakewell and his contemporaries. Arthur Young at the end of the eighteenth century said that there were only two varieties of cart horses in England then worth mention—the old black breed of the Midland Counties, now known as Shires, and the Suffolk Punch. The Clydesdale was however locally known, while Yorkshire was even then famous for a class of horses eminently suited both for farm use and for road work. These latter came into great demand when fast coaches began their brief but glorious career. This became possible only with the improvement of roads associated with the name of Macadam, whose system of road making was generally adopted about 1819. Coaching reached its zenith during the 'thirties,' when mail coaches ran at an average speed of from 10 to 10½ miles per hour from London to York, Exeter and other places. Twenty years later railways had driven them almost completely off the road, but during that time the coach horse had been brought to a high level of excellence.

The development of British live stock during the nineteenth century was fostered by three main influences—the agricultural show, the export trade, and the breed register. The first agricultural show was held in 1797 by the Bath and West of England Society which was founded in 1777. The Highland and Agricultural Society was founded in 1784. In 1798 the Smithfield Club was established under the name of the Smithfield Cattle and Sheep Society, and held its first show in the Dolphin Yard, Smithfield, in 1799. Many county and local societies were founded early in the nineteenth century, and in 1839 the Royal Agricultural Society was established. The effect of the national and local shows in fixing the types of the various improved breeds has been very great. By bringing together in the show ring the results of individual efforts in

various districts, and subjecting them to close comparison and competition before competent judges, standards were established and progress on sound and uniform lines was ensured.

The stimulus given to the breeding of pure-bred stock by the demand from abroad, which sprung into importance about the middle of the nineteenth century, was very great. The extension of the export trade is sufficiently indicated by the fact that in 1861-65 the value of cattle and sheep exported averaged £24,000 per annum, and in 1909-13, £267,000.

The general establishment of breed registers is comparatively modern. It is true that the 'General Stud Book' for thoroughbreds was started in 1791, 'Coate's Shorthorn Herd Book' in 1822, and the 'Hereford Herd Book' in 1846; but otherwise none of the existing breed registers were started before the middle of the nineteenth century. For sheep the earliest flock books were those of the Shropshires started in 1883, the Suffolks in 1886, and the Oxford Downs in 1889.

Improvement in the general management of stock has been greatly aided by the development of veterinary science. The old chronicles of British agriculture were full of allusions to the heavy losses of farm stock by epidemics of disease. The rot in sheep is described by Walter, of Henley; and scab was introduced according to Thorold Rogers in the year 1280. In 1735 the rot in sheep was widespread, and the dead bodies of rotten sheep were so numerous that their stench, according to a contemporary writer, made the country roads offensive to travellers. The cattle plague invaded England early in the eighteenth century, though it is probable that what is by earlier writers termed 'murrain' was a disease of the same nature. The variety of ailments of farm animals described by Leonard Mascall is only equalled by the extraordinary nature of some of the remedies which he prescribed for them. Treatment was entirely empirical and traditional and frequently superstitious, so that one is disposed to believe that as many stock were killed by the remedies as by the disease. Possibly however the same suspicion may arise with regard to human ailments, when it is remembered that almost the universal prescription was blood-letting. Bleeding was also the general remedy for all equine ills—indeed it was adopted as a regular practice for

keeping animals in health. Sir Walter Gilbey* says that Essex farmers used to bleed their animals regularly in spring and autumn as late as the year 1835, and that the practice had not quite died out in 1850. The idea of a veterinary college seems to have been first mooted about 1766, but it was not until 1791 that one was established in London. During the past century the medical and surgical treatment of animals has gradually developed, and veterinary science has now become firmly established.

In the present century the study of the principles of heredity in both animals and men is developing on new lines. Mendelism promises to furnish the stock-breeder with better and more certain means of increasing the economic value of his stock, while Eugenics show the way to the physical and mental improvement of the human race. Stock-breeders have for centuries applied Eugenic principles to the animals under their control with remarkable success. We may well acclaim those men of olden time who with no aid from science or from the State laid so well and truly, by their own intelligence and enterprise and by dint of patient and persistent effort, the foundations of our modern breeds of live stock. To them Swift's familiar aphorism may be applied—'Whoever could make two ears of corn or two blades of grass grow upon a spot of ground where only one grew before, would deserve better of mankind and do more essential service to his country than the whole race of politicians put together.'

R. HENRY REW.

* 'Farm Stock One Hundred Years Ago.'

THE ENGLISH CHURCH BEYOND THE SEAS

1. *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies.* By A. L. CROSS. Longmans, Green. 1902.
2. *The Five Lambeth Conferences.* S.P.C.K. 1920.

TO what extent the colonising enterprises of the sixteenth century were the outcome of missionary zeal rather than of a desire for material prosperity may remain a matter for difference of opinion, but only by a perversion of evidence can it be maintained that the founders of England's dominions beyond the seas were indifferent to matters of religion. The life of Richard Hakluyt, whose influence was considerable in stimulating the desire for the discovery of new lands, was marked by a deep sense of vocation, which contributed appreciably, through his writings, to give a higher aim to those undertakings. There are records of Church services held upon the departure of expeditions, and the narratives of the travellers show the anxiety of the little community to maintain its religious practices aided, if possible, by the ministrations of a clergyman. Frequently the parties included a minister of religion who seems to have been somewhat in the position of a domestic chaplain. Frobisher was accompanied on his third voyage in 1578 by 'Maister' Wolfall, a learned man, appointed by Her Majesties Counsell 'to be their Minister and Preacher.' The Rev. Robert Hunt, who was a member of the Virginia Company's Expedition dispatched in 1606,* was selected by Hakluyt with the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Chaplains were sent out by the Court of Directors of the East India Company, but they do not appear to have been licensed either by the Bishop of London

* The charter granted to the company in that year expressed the hope that the venture would 'hereafter tend to the glory of His Divine Majesty in propagating of Christian religion to such people as yet were in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may in time bring the infidels and savages living in those parts to human civility and to a settled and quiet government.'

or the Archbishop of Canterbury, though in 1615 the latter was consulted concerning the baptism of an Indian youth as there was a suggestion 'that it were fit to have it publicly effected, being the firstfruits of India.'

Attempts have been made to find evidence at this early date of the missionary jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, but without success. Dr. A. L. Cross in a learned monograph dealing with the whole history of the relations between the Anglican Episcopate and the American colonies has traced in some detail the origin, nature, and actual working of the Bishop of London's authority as colonial diocesan. He attributes the source of the custom of regarding the Bishop of London as concerned with all ecclesiastical matters outside the British Isles to an Order in Council made in 1633 to vest the Churches of Delph and Hamburg in him. It required 'that ye liturgy and discipline now used in ye Church of England should be receaved and established there, and that in all things concerning their Church government they should be under ye jurisdiction of ye Bishop of London as their diocesan.'* But a reference to the preceding correspondence suggests that this order was nothing more than the settlement of a controversy in the affairs of an English company.

The patent issued in 1634 to a Commission for making laws and orders for the government of English colonies planted in foreign parts included the Archbishops of Canterbury and York but did not mention the Bishop of London. They were given powers to impose penalties and imprisonment for offences in ecclesiastical matters. But the documents bearing upon the control of the Church in the new settlements show clearly that it was regarded merely as an affair of State. In 1638 only clergymen approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London were allowed to go to Bermuda, and the governor was required to put a stop to the ministrations of schismatical ministers.

An important though negative piece of evidence that neither the Archbishop nor the Bishop had any recognised or formal authority outside the British Isles is contained in the Charter

* See 'Calendar of State Papers: Domestic Series,' 1631-33, 1633-34.

of the New England Company, which was formed originally in the interregnum. The Church being in disfavour naturally did not receive recognition in the Act of Incorporation, in which nothing was said as to the particular tenets of religion or auspices under which the Gospel was to be propagated among the Indians in New England. But Charles II. granted in 1662 a charter to the company, and it is remarkable that no ecclesiastic was included among the members of the corporation, so that the governing body of the oldest missionary society in England, throughout its career of two hundred and fifty years, has consisted entirely of laymen.

In 1675 the Committee of Trade and Plantations desired inquiry to be made 'touching the jurisdiction which the Bishop of London hath over the foreign plantations.' Dr. Sherlock in 1759 could not find that any reply to this inquiry was made and considered that 'the part allotted to the Bishop of London in the next governor's instructions shows that the bishop was not thought to have any jurisdiction.'*

Shortly after the Restoration however the Bishop of London was made a privy councillor, and in 1679 he was appointed a member of the Committee of Trade and Plantations. From that time it became customary for the committee to refer to him questions connected with the Church in the colonies, and in 1706 specific reference is made to the Bishop of London 'to whom the care of ecclesiastical matters in the plantations belongs.† But even then the Bishop of London did not possess any ecclesiastical jurisdiction such as that suggested in the statement made that 'all the world outside England was 'for ecclesiastical purposes in his diocese.' He exercised a delegated authority and constantly referred matters to the Privy Council, who furthered his efforts through their servants, the colonial governors, acting in some measure as his commissaries.

Jamaica provides an interesting example of the slight degree to which the traditional jurisdiction of the Bishop of London existed in fact. In 1681 an Act was passed dealing with

* 'Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York,' vol. vii., p. 362.

† 'Acts of the Privy Council: Colonial Series,' 1680-1720, p. 499.

ecclesiastical affairs and requiring all ministers to produce testimonials of qualifications according to the canons of the Church of England, but it made no reference to the Bishop beyond an indirect one in the provision that no 'ecclesiastical law or jurisdiction shall have power to enforce, confirm, or establish any penal mulcts or punishment in any case whatsoever.' The instructions issued in 1685 to the governor in a form commonly in use contained the following clause:—

'To the end the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of London may take place in that our Island as far as convenient may be, we do think it fit that you give all countenance and encouragement in the exercise of the same excepting only the collation to benefices, granting licences for marriages, and probate of wills, which we have reserved to you our governor and the commander-in-chief for the time being.'

By an Act passed in 1748 it was made lawful 'for the Bishop of London to exercise ordinary jurisdiction in this island, as far as the same appertains to the ecclesiastical regimen of the clergy only,' but the Act was in no way to be construed to extend to give or grant any judicial authority or coercion, either spiritual or temporal, over the lay inhabitants of the island, and nothing was to abridge the jurisdiction of the governor as ordinary.

The conclusive piece of evidence is contained in the preamble to an Act passed in 1799 which recites that the authority and jurisdiction given and granted in the Act of 1748 'hath not at any time or times been asserted or exercised by any diocesan of that See.' The Act therefore enforced the resumption of the King's jurisdiction over the ecclesiastical regimen of the clergy of the island as supreme head of the Church of England according to an appeal made to him by the Council and Assembly.

Nothing however seems to have been done during the seventeenth century to diminish the influence of the Archbishop of Canterbury. In the East India Company's Charter granted in 1698 it was provided that no minister should be sent out without his authority or that of the Bishop of London. Again, in 1703, the Privy Council referred to the Archbishop a difficulty about missionary work among Indians in North America. In 1707 an opinion was given by the attorney-general that the Archbishop through the Prerogative Court had the right to

grant administration of an intestate's estates in the plantations.* It was not until 1727 that the Bishop of London definitely received recognition of any jurisdiction in the American colonies, and even then the letters patent granted by George I. were personal, but were renewed by his successor. The cause of their issue was stated to be that 'the colonies, plantations, and 'other our dominions in America are not yet divided into, 'constituted as neither annexed to any diocese within our 'Kingdom of Great Britain,'† so the requisite authority was given to the Bishop of London.

The method of conferring this jurisdiction has some interest. The modern procedure by which an Act of Parliament is required for the creation of a new diocese is not according to post-Reformation precedent. The assignment of temporal and territorial authority to a bishop is an act of the Crown. There is record in connexion with the American colonies that the precedents of Henry VIII. had received attention so that the broad effect of the letters patent was to make the 'colonies, 'plantations, and the rest of our dominions in America' a part of the diocese of London, though there was a clear and important distinction, and the arrangement was in the nature of a compromise. The colonies did not really want a bishop, so that if the Bishop of London had been in a position to exercise his office effectively among them there would have been much resentment at his presence, though churchmen on both sides of the Atlantic had recognised the need of episcopal supervision in the highest interests of the Church, and Archbishop Tenison had bequeathed £1000 towards the foundation of two bishoprics. For political reasons therefore it was not thought desirable to send a bishop to them, and the letters patent accordingly brought the plantations within the sphere of episcopal influence as well as might be under the circumstances. It may even be argued from the wording, as Dr. Sherlock contended in 1759, that the power of jurisdiction conferred by the patent was confined to the clergy only.‡ Certainly there was no opportunity

* 'Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York,' vol. v., p. 3.

† *Ibid.*, p. 849.

‡ See 'Memorandum Printed in Documents Relating to Colonial History of New York,' vol. vii., p. 364.

for the performance of the acts peculiar to the episcopal order—confirmation, ordination, and consecration. The patent gave a right of appeal from the bishop to a motley collection of high officers of State, members of the Privy Council. In 1760 the Archbishop, writing in reply to an American correspondent, stated that the ‘superintendence of the Church of Philadelphia’ belongs neither to me, as Archbishop of Canterbury, nor to the ‘Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, of which I am President, but hath always been exercised by the Bishop of London.’

The limited nature of the Bishop’s jurisdiction is shown however by a correspondence with the Archbishop in 1763. A complaint had been made to the latter about the probable effect of an Act passed in the previous year in Massachusetts for the object of propagating the Gospel among Indians. The Archbishop found that the Act had been referred to the Board of Trade which, he writes, ‘in all matters that may affect religion, consults the Bishop of London,’ and so he too referred the whole matter to him. In a few days however the Bishop replied that as the Act ‘does not relate to the maintenance of the clergy nor the jurisdiction of our established Church it ought not, nor indeed can, with any propriety be referred to me’ but to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. It may be that this was merely an expedient for getting rid of a troublesome matter, although on the other hand precisely the same subject had received the Archbishop’s attention in 1703. In a matter laid before the Privy Council in 1766 the Bishop of London expressed agreement with his predecessor, Dr. Sherlock, as to the limited jurisdiction over the American colonies, and urged that whatever might be the exact scope of his powers it was not possible to exercise them under the circumstances of the position.

The movement for the establishment of the bishopric was regarded almost entirely in its political aspect. The idea of the appointment of a bishop was resented as an assertion of the authority of the Crown over the colonies, which would be further emphasised by the passing of an Act in the English Parliament to confer temporal authority. The dread of the proposal to establish episcopacy in America has been represented as one of the most powerful of the secondary causes of

the rebellion by which the colonies passed from the dominion of the British Crown without having obtained a fully developed system of Church government. The relation of the See of London to the American colonies was summed up in the decree of the Consistory Court authorising the gift to the United States of Bradford's History of 'Plimoth Plantation.' In that decree, issued while Dr. Creighton was bishop, the period of the bishop's jurisdiction was limited from 1729 to 1785.

Just as the main reasons for refusing a bishop to the American colonies had been political, so a primary consideration in consecrating the first Bishop of Nova Scotia in 1787 was the desire to strengthen the Church in order to support the civil government against the Roman Catholic Church representing the French influence. In the establishment of that bishopric the Archbishop of Canterbury took at least an equal if not a greater part than the Bishop of London. From that time the claim made on behalf of the Bishop to the possession of a world-wide diocese ceases to have any sort of justification, and the constantly growing burden of the care of all the Churches throughout the Anglican Communion has rested upon the Primate. The letters patent creating the bishopric of Nova Scotia marked a material advance in the conception of Church government upon those granted to Bishop Gibson earlier in the century. Church affairs were being dealt with as matters of well defined importance on their own account and not as supplementary means of good civil government. All that concerned them was entrusted to ecclesiastical persons. Finally the patent set forth that the new bishop should be subject to the Archiepiscopal See of the Province of Canterbury

'in the same manner as any bishop of any See within the Province of Canterbury . . . save and except in the matter of appeals from judgments, decrees or sentences pronounced by the said Bishop of Nova Scotia or his successors, which we will shall not be made to the said Archbishop of Canterbury or the courts but to the commissioners appointed by us.'

The appellant was to give notice in the High Court of Chancery with certain prescribed formalities, and then the appeal would be heard by commissioners specially appointed by letters patent for the purpose, but no particulars are given of the persons to be chosen for that duty or their qualifications. The Judicial

Committee of the Privy Council was not constituted until nearly fifty years later, and litigation had not yet required any well defined procedure of appeal in civil actions.

The most important step in the development of the Church in the British Empire was the appointment of bishops in India. The ecclesiastical like the civil conditions of that vast empire have differed from any to be found elsewhere in the British dominions. Evangelising work was done by foreign missionaries, and the effort to induce the English Company to undertake definite responsibilities in the fulfilment of its obligations for the furtherance of religion met with considerable opposition. It is important to notice that the East India Company's Act of 1813 did not itself constitute an ecclesiastical establishment but was merely confirmatory of the inherent power of the Crown to establish bishoprics. The details of the exercise of the bishop's jurisdiction were left to be defined by the letters patent which gave a right of appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Act which completed twenty years later the legislative framework of the organisation of the Church by raising the Bishop of Calcutta to the status of Metropolitan of India provided that he should be subject to the 'general superintendence' of the Archbishop of Canterbury. At the time, perhaps, the additional charge did not make any considerable demand upon the Primate, but the increase of facilities of communication and the development of the conception of corporate life have increased to an unrealised extent the calls upon him.

The latest Act of Parliament dealing in detail with the development of diocesan organisation in the colonies appears to have been one passed in 1825 to create the bishopric of Jamaica, by which it was provided that 'the Island of Jamaica, 'the Bahama Islands, and the settlements in the Bay of Honduras 'and their respective dependencies should be and become a 'bishopric, and the diocese and See of a bishop of the United 'Church of England as established by law.' This Act is of interest because the gradual cessation of parliamentary interposition in these matters coincided with the growing conception of Church order and government. Under the changed conditions the primatial See of Canterbury steadily gained a world-wide respect, and its occupants have been regarded with increasing veneration and regard throughout the Anglican

Communion. Moreover these sentiments took shape in a practical form which has led the counsel and assistance of the Archbishop of Canterbury to be sought upon innumerable matters taking place in every part of the Empire. The record of the development of the direction in and from which demands are constantly being made upon him is the chronicle of Church progress throughout the British Empire and in foreign lands. To attempt to set forth that growth of work in any detail would be to write the history of the English Church beyond the seas for the last hundred years, but an effort may be made to trace to the present time what may be called the development of the constitutional status of the Primate.

From the meeting of archbishops and bishops at Lambeth Palace on Whit Tuesday in the year 1841 may be dated the growth of the colonial episcopate in a measure at all corresponding to the needs of the Empire. Australia, which had been separated from India in 1836, was divided by the constitution of the bishopric of Tasmania in 1842. The letters patent defined the area of the diocese and reserved power to alter the boundaries with the consent of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of the See. The Bishop of Tasmania was in no wise to be subject to the Bishop of Australia 'but 'only to the Metropolitan See of Canterbury and to the 'archbishops thereof, in the same manner as any bishop of any 'See within the Province of Canterbury.' The chief point of difference from the Nova Scotia letters patent which had been followed for Jamaica, Barbados, Toronto, and Newfoundland was the grant of a right of appeal from the Bishop to the Archbishop of Canterbury instead of to a body of privy councillors. But by revoking letters patent in 1849 the appeal was transferred to the Bishop of Sydney in accordance with his appointment in 1847 as 'Metropolitan Bishop of Australasia '(subject nevertheless to the general superintendence and 'revision of the Archbishop of Canterbury) for the time being 'and subordinate to the Archiepiscopal See of the Province of 'Canterbury.'

Besides the bishopric of Tasmania there were founded also in 1842 the Sees of Antigua, Guiana, and Gibraltar. Any connexion with the See of London ceased, and the new bishop 'became subject and subordinate to the Metropolitan See of

'Canterbury and to the archbishop thereof, in the same manner 'as any bishop of any See within the Province of Canterbury.'

About the year 1845 the Baroness Burdett Coutts took her first munificent action for the extension of the colonial episcopate by guaranteeing an adequate provision for two new Sees—Adelaide and Cape Town—which were formed with Newfoundland and Melbourne in 1847. The constitution of the See of Cape Town was followed in 1850 by the authorisation of a local legislature creating a situation in South Africa which materially affected the whole development of Church government in the British Empire. It is unnecessary to enter into the facts of the Colenso controversy, but the effect of the judicial decisions arising therefrom was that the Royal Supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs in South Africa was barred by the existence of the colonial legislature. The Baroness Burdett Coutts was much alarmed by the result as being contrary to her intension in founding the bishoprics and to the aim of the archbishops and bishops who had met at Lambeth in 1841. She petitioned the Crown and appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Prime Minister, and others. Mr. Gladstone in his reply concurred in thinking 'that the Lambeth Declaration aimed at 'carrying into the colonies regularly constituted offshoots of the 'English Church, in which the whole course of discipline, and 'therefore of appeal, would run as it ran in the English Church 'according to the law of that Church.' He recognised that the sentence of the Privy Council amounted to 'the utter destruction 'of the supremacy in South Africa by the hands of the Crown 'itself.'

Whether good or bad law there was no way of escape from it. The Government declared as their considered opinion that it would 'be inconsistent with the settled principles of colonial 'policy to establish in the colonies by Imperial legislation a 'prerogative in respect to ecclesiastical matters which the highest 'Court of Appeal has declared to have no existence in law.' Such action would have been just the measure which had been dreaded by the American colonies nearly a hundred years before. Mr. Gladstone saw in the Church in South Africa

'a metropolitan with his suffragans, meeting to exercise powers not stolen or usurped from the See of Canterbury, but in an ecclesiastical sense freely and regularly devolved by Archbishop Sumner, and agree-

able to the ancient and primitive constitution of the Christian Church—powers on which it appears self-evident that that Church must fall back whenever and wherever its partner, the State, thinks fit to cease keeping company with it.’

He shared the feeling of uneasiness

‘at what may follow from the exercise of judicial powers by synods merely ecclesiastical, especially if small, remote, and unchecked by an active public opinion. But (he added) in the American Episcopal Church it has been found practicable in a great degree to obviate any dangers from such a source. It ought to be *easier* to gain this end in our colonial Churches. For the moral weight and authority of the English Episcopate, and especially of the great and ancient See of Canterbury, will have an immense effect in guiding the colonial Churches; and it seems to me that, when the legal questions now pending are decided [his letter is dated 22nd April 1866] it ought to be further and very carefully considered what further provision can be made for maintaining the harmony of the colonial Churches with one another and with the Mother Church at home, and that probably some of the best, wisest, and most experienced bishops from the colonies in various parts of the world will have to meet in England and consult on these grave matters.’

Mr. Gladstone’s anticipation did not have to wait very long for its fulfilment. A desire for a general meeting had already been expressed by the metropolitan and bishops of the Church of Canada, who were supported by the unanimous request of a very large meeting of the archbishops and bishops of the home and colonial Church. The invitations to the Conference were extended to the episcopate in the United States. Its gathering was defined by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Longley) to be

‘for conferring upon topics of mutual interest, for discussing the peculiar difficulties and perplexities in which our widely scattered colonial Churches are involved, and the evils to which they are exposed, for cementing yet more firmly the bonds of Christian communion between Churches, acknowledging one Lord, one faith, one baptism, connected not only by the ties of kindred, but by common formularies, and for meeting, through their representatives from the most distant regions of the earth, to offer up united prayers and praise to the Most High in the mother tongue common to us all, and to partake of the Holy Communion of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.’

The name Lambeth Conference, which has been given by common consent to this gathering, and its successors may be

regarded as something more than a mere association with its place of meeting. It is a testimony to the central position of the See of Canterbury, and the matters considered by the Conference give some idea of the work which devolves, during the decennial periods when the Conference is not in session, upon the Primate unaided.

It was natural that the agenda paper for the Conference in 1867 should bear the clear impress of the extent to which the legal questions raised by the Colenso case were occupying men's minds, and in that section of their deliberations were considered the conditions of union between the colonial Churches and the Church at home. A committee, over which Bishop G. A. Selwyn presided, foreshadowed the Pan-Anglican Conference of 1908 in the recommendation that the Archbishop of Canterbury 'as occupying the See from which the colonial and American 'Churches derive their succession' should convene an assembly to draw together the dioceses in the Anglican Communion. Another committee presented a report upon the constitution of a voluntary spiritual tribunal to which questions of doctrine might be carried by appeal from the tribunals for the exercise of discipline in each province of the colonial Church. The atmosphere of the Conference however was not conducive to quiet consideration of general questions concerning the welfare of the Church. It was in fact so heated that there was considerable doubt as to the wisdom of repeating the experiment. However Archbishop Tait did not require to be convinced of the value of the gathering. His daily correspondence showed the innumerable subjects in every part of the Anglican Communion which are constantly requiring more than local consideration.

Archbishop Tait in his invitation to the Lambeth Conference of 1877 suggested 'the best mode of maintaining union among 'the various Churches of the Anglican Communion' as the first subject to which they might direct their attention in the belief that there were many points upon which friendly conference would be very valuable. At this Conference a practical proposal was made to meet the need which was felt for a centre of information and communication between the various parts of the Church. It was suggested that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge might maintain a department through

which ecclesiastical documents of importance might be mutually circulated and in which copies of them might be retained for reference, and also that provision might be made for the more general dissemination, in each Church, of information respecting the acts and current history of all the rest. They further recommended that any report of the proceedings of the Conference might be published through that channel, which has been done separately and also collectively in the volume edited by the present Archbishop of Canterbury. Little or nothing has been done to carry out the proposals of the committee. There is considerable difficulty in obtaining copies even of the reports of the Convocation of Canterbury, and any churchman who is in want of a document connected with the Church in any part of the world soon finds that the quickest way to obtain it is to write direct on his own account, since there is no public source of supply or reliable collection for reference in London. Practically the whole of the work of collecting and collating the material has been left as part of the personal responsibility of the Archbishop with the limited means at his disposal.

Between the Lambeth Conference of 1877 and the Conference convened by Archbishop Benson in the year of the first Jubilee of Queen Victoria, a period of transition in the history of the Church in the self-governing colonies had been completed by the attainment of complete disestablishment. During Archbishop Benson's primacy the work to be done was mainly constructive, and the independent bodies were building up their own organisations and systems of government. The range of subjects upon which his advice and help were desired were not less varied than those which had claimed the attention of Archbishop Tait, nor was he less at the call of every colonial and missionary diocese. Moreover it has to be remembered that not only had the work of the Church developed and extended but the range of general information both within and without the Church had been broadened and deepened by the preparations for the Jubilee in regard to the responsibilities of the nation towards the possessions of the Crown throughout the world.

It was not however until the Lambeth Conference, held in the second Jubilee year of Queen Victoria, that the desire to

secure steady and rapid intercourse between the various branches of the Anglican Communion led to the formation of a Central Consultative Committee for supplying information and advice, in the belief that mutual knowledge gives the only sure basis of all real unity of life. It was recognised that such a committee would have to win its way to general recognition by the services which it might be able to render to the working of the Church. It would besides have no other than a moral authority to be developed out of its action. Archbishop Temple proposed that the committee should meet every year after the second Sunday in July, and it met for the first time in July 1901. The Conference of 1907 incorporated in a resolution the constitution of the committee developed upon the lines originally suggested by the Archbishop, but the Conference did not resolve in accordance with the committee's recommendation that the Consultative Committee should meet at least once a year.

The difficult question of the constitution of a final Court of Appeal for the Anglican Communion which had occupied a place conspicuous though diminishing in importance at each Conference assumed a new phase in 1907. The Church of the Province of South Africa upon their own initiative had constituted the Central Consultative Committee their ultimate Court of Appeal in matters connected with 'faith or doctrine.' The accomplishment of the proposal made at the Conference of 1878 would now be inadequate, though better than nothing. There is an urgent need for a permanent secretariat to give definite support to the work of the Consultative Committee. Each year the burden of the Archbishop of Canterbury increases though the constitution of the committee has in a measure, perhaps, relieved him of some responsibility.

Looking back across the three centuries since the English Church and nation first began to acquire definite responsibilities outside the British Isles, there are many changes to be noted in his position. For many years the spiritual character was dwarfed almost to extinction in comparison with his position as one of the chief officers of State. Little if any attempt however was made to strengthen his relation to the Church beyond the seas by legislative enactments even to the slight extent of those affecting the status of the Bishop of London. As step by step

the Church life became more and more detached from the legal enactments of the State, so the reverence and attachment for the ancient See of Canterbury have increased and developed throughout the Anglican Communion.

The contribution of the present Archbishop of Canterbury in that connexion has been one of unique importance. He acted as General Secretary at the Conference of 1888, and Archbishop Benson then repeated to Queen Victoria a remark of Bishop Ellicott 'that in all his experience of editing he 'had never known such a feat as Davidson's in having the 'account of the Conference all ready and printed and published in five days.' At the time of the Conference of 1897 Dr. Davidson had become Bishop of Rochester. In due course he presided over the Conference of 1908. His primacy has also been marked by the holding of the Pan-Anglican Congress in 1908, which was in itself a testimony to the value of acquiring full and accurate information upon the working of the Church in its various parts.

For the second time the present Archbishop of Canterbury is about to preside over the Lambeth Conference, and his position in the Anglican Communion cannot be better expressed than in his own words, written in reference to Archbishop Benson's occupancy of the primatial See:—

'The position of the Archbishop of Canterbury in all these matters has this peculiarity: his "authority," if we can call it so, is almost universally recognised, but it is undefined; it is moral not legal, and its effective exercise depends in no small degree upon the personal weight, tact, and courtesy of the Primate. In the letters patent still given by the Crown to the Bishop of Calcutta on his Consecration, he is declared to be "subject to the general supervision and direction of the Archbishop of Canterbury," and the phrase might be applied in practice to many other Sees besides that of the Metropolitan of India. Obviously, therefore, very much turns upon the Archbishop's willingness to concern himself actively as counsellor and friend in the affairs of these distant communities. Any unwillingness on his part to take trouble in the matter or, on the other hand, any assumption of a definite authority and right to interfere, would probably result in a speedy diminution of his opportunities.'

C. E. A. BEDWELL.

CHURCH LIFE IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGE

1. **The Eve of the Reformation: Religious Life and Thought of the English People.** By F. A. GASQUET. Third Edition. Nimmo. 1905.
2. **Medieval Studies.** By G. G. COULTON. Second Revised Edition. Simpkin, Marshall. 1915.
3. **England in the Age of Wycliffe.** By G. M. TREVELYAN. Third Edition. Longmans, Green. 1900.
4. **Loci e libro veritatum: Passages selected from Gascoigne's Theological Dictionary, illustrating the Condition of Church and State, 1403-58.** With an Introduction by J. E. THOROLD ROGERS. Clarendon Press. 1881.
5. **History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church.** By H. C. LEA. Sonnenschein. 1896.
6. **History of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church.** By H. C. LEA. Third Revised Edition. Williams & Norgate. 1907.
7. **A History of Penance: being a Study of the Authorities (a) for the Whole Church to A.D. 450; (b) for the Western Church from A.D. 450 to A.D. 1215.** By OSCAR D. WATKINS. Longmans, Green. 1920.
8. **Episcopal Registers and Visitations of Various Dioceses** issued at different times by the Canterbury and York Society, the Lincoln Record Society, and other like Societies.

‘**I**T often seems to me,’ said Froude in a candid moment, ‘as if history was like a child’s box of letters, with which we can spell any word we please. We have only to pick out such letters as we want, arrange them as we like, and say ‘nothing about those which do not suit our purpose.’ Few writers of history have consciously carried out this plan, yet few, if any, have escaped the influence of personal or party sympathy; for the eye can only see what it takes with it. In dealing with medieval history, there is a further difficulty in this—that what we call the Middle Age was not one age but many, and these not successive but contemporary, living each its own life apart yet side by side. And so to one mind the Middle Age is an age of chivalry, of ideal heroism, of picturesque castles and glorious churches, lovely charity and gallant self-

sacrifice, while to another it is a gloomy age of grievous misgovernment, of fierce faction and bloody strife, of plagues and famines unhelpt and unaverted. What to Walter Pater is 'that solemn fifteenth century which can hardly be studied too much, not merely for its positive results in the things of the intellect and the imagination, its concrete works of art, its special and prominent personalities, with their profound aesthetic charm, but for its general spirit and character, for the ethical qualities of which it is a consummate type,' is for Bishop Stubbs 'a worn-out helpless age that calls for pity without sympathy.' 'The charm,' he adds, 'which the relics of medieval art have woven round the later middle ages must be resolutely, ruthlessly broken.' In face of such opposing judgments we are tempted to say with Faust, 'The times which are gone are a book with seven seals; and what you call the spirit of past ages is but the spirit of this or that worthy gentleman in whose mind those ages are reflected.'

The difficulty of excluding party feeling and personal sympathy in looking at the later Middle Age is greatest when we turn to matters ecclesiastical. Here, where critical insight should most be cultivated, few even aim at an impartial judgment, most men frankly act as advocates, 'editing history in their own favour.' We are compelled, then, if we would obtain an approximately faithful picture of the medieval Church, to lay aside any prepossessions of our own, to ignore the special pleading of partisans, to look away even from the eminent examples of vice and virtue in individuals, which prove so little as to the state of societies, and patiently to collect and compare such flotsam of fact as drifts down to us in episcopal registers, visitation presentments, and the like. Only by the careful study of these prosaic records can we realise, even remotely, how great a part was played by the Church in the everyday life of the Middle Age, and what inquisitorial and disciplinary authority it had over almost everyone. In any medieval period the Church is fully as important as the State; and as an element in the social life of a parish it exercised immensely more influence than it does to-day. No parishioner could stay away from Mass on Sundays and Holy Days, nor attend another parish church in preference to his own. If a lord, a knight, or a lady wished to have a private chapel or oratory—in those days a well-served

chapel was something like a good vinery in our own, an opportunity for display and a source of mild enjoyment—the bishop insisted that all *obvenciones* should be paid over to the mother church within three days of being received, and that the whole household should attend the parish church on at least the four chief festivals of the year. Ecclesiastics administered whole departments of life which are now in the hands of the State authorities or left to the discretion of the individual. The bishop's court—directed by the archdeacon or other delegate, since the 'Caesarian' bishops were usually occupied in the secular business of the king—took cognisance of a far wider range of immoralities than any modern tribunal. 'Fornicioun,' 'wicchecraft,' 'bauderie,' 'diffamacioun,' 'avouterie' (*i.e.*, adultery), 'church-reves,' 'usure,' and 'symone,' is Chaucer's list of offences in the bishop's court. 'But certes lechours did he grettest wo.' Attached to the court were officials called 'summoners,' who made fortunes by preying on the vices they were supposed to bring up for punishment. The summoner 'coude spare of 'lechours oon or two To techen him to foure and twenty mo,' who in their turn were glad to 'fille his purs,' and so escape the court.

For tithes, too, the bishop's court 'made the people piteously 'to singe.' Farmers and cottagers were bound to render a strict tenth of all their produce, shopkeepers and artisans two shillings in the pound of their earnings. And when they died, 'mortuaries' meant in many cases a full third of what property they had. It was an added grievance that the tithe went often to non-resident rectors, or to monasteries and bishops who had 'appropriated' them. So bitter was the discontent that 'some 'men,' complains Bishop Quivil, 'maliciously bring the [tithe of] 'milk to church in its natural state [*i.e.*, not in the approved 'form of cheese] . . . and pour it out before the altar in scorn 'of God and of His Church.' The clergy (save one here and there, of whom it was said 'Full looth were hym to cursen for 'hise tithes') solemnly excommunicated defaulters four times a year. In 1433 a cleric was compelled to recant his 'heresy' in daring to assert that 'Parsones no prelates shold not wrynge the 'godes of his sugettes fro hem by cursynge ne worldly plee.' Should a person, thus excommunicated, 'with pertinaciously 'hardened spirit wickedly contemning the keys of holy mother

'Church' persist unrepentant for forty days, the secular arm was invoked, and a letter of *Significavit* was sent for his imprisonment until by submission he 'deserved to obtain the benefit of 'absolution.'

The Lateran Council of 1215-16, by enforcing confession upon everyone, gave to the parish priest not only an efficient instrument for establishing a spiritual domination over the lives of his parishioners, but also a lucrative source of income. For in the confessional, absolution was only granted after fitting penance had been enjoined and performed. This penance, in earlier days, had been corporal, extending also over a considerable time. The Emperor Theodosius had waited in humble penitence for eight months before being restored to the community of the faithful; and a King of England had been publicly flogged by the monks of Canterbury. But in the fourteenth century they had changed all that. Any penance could be commuted for money. The Church treated sin merely as a means of filling her coffers. Hence, as a rule, corporal penance was inflicted only on the poor, who could not afford to be perpetually buying exemption. 'The censor pardons the crow 'and vexes the dove.' Not only did the wealthy pay fines instead of penance, but, says Wycliffe, the Church's courts 'give 'men licence to dwell in sin for annual rent so long as them 'liketh.' 'Sin may be bought for money as who buys an ox 'or a cow.'

But the parish priest and the bishop's court soon lost this lucrative monopoly, from which some English bishops were said to obtain 2000 or 3000 marks a year. For the friars, responsible only to the far-away pope, began to perambulate the countryside, licensed to make what they could by hearing confessions and giving absolution on fairly easy terms. 'If there be any 'cursed swearer, extortioner, or adulterer, he will not be shriven 'at his own curate, but will go to some flattering friar, who will 'assoil him falsely for a little money by the year.' All persons and parties in the Church alike hated the friar, but they feared him also, for he was a real power in the land. More active and energetic than the parish priest, often better read, and usually quicker witted, he went the rounds of his villages and country towns, bringing the latest news from the outside world, competing everywhere with the somewhat more conscientious

parish clergy, and almost openly advertising his absolutions as the cheapest and best. 'A window erected in a Carmelite convent could secure easy shrift for the crimes of the great, a pair of old shoes and a dinner given to the Franciscan on his rounds could obtain heaven's pardon for the peasant.' In short, the friar would forgive, retrospectively or in futurity, any sins a man might choose to commit upon payment of a sum carefully graduated according to the penitent's means; and he never failed to return to the convent laden with the spoils of his tour. For the begging friar had one virtue at least. He was loyal to his order, and sought nothing for himself beyond the pleasure of the moment, gastronomic or even sexual. And his energy in gathering booty was quickened by the rivalry of four such orders—Franciscan, Dominican, Augustinian, and Carmelite—at work in the villages and towns, with all the stimulus which the voluntary system and severe competition can give. Small wonder is it that a reforming preacher in 1409 was accused before Convocation of saying in a sermon '*Fratres non sunt aut fuerunt pastores, sed fures, lupi, et latrones.*'

A yet lower depth was reached by the *Questuarii* or Pardoners, who went round the villages with official letters of recommendation, selling indulgences on behalf of their employers. St. Peter's at Rome was not the first nor the only church built by this means. Many of our cathedrals and great minsters owe much of their magnificence to the unscrupulous activity of the Pardoner. The Crusades too were partly financed by him; or rather, the war against the infidel or the heretic was the ostensible reason for the sale of countless promises of pardon. As early as 1212 the scandal was so great that it was forbidden to anyone, 'whether he carried relics with him or not,' to sell indulgences except for a proper cause and with episcopal letters. From this time forward the councils everywhere throughout Europe were constantly occupied with the subject, complaining of the *Questuarii* as infamous liars, skilled in all wickedness, spending in drunkenness, gambling and lechery the gains of which they defrauded the Church. Yet neither council nor pope until 1546 decided to abolish the office of Pardoner, since prelates and pope alike found it to their interest to encourage so profitable a trade.

The bitter resentment of the laity against these various exactions of the Church was aggravated by their knowledge of the life and character of the average parson—‘the Person of the ‘parish *par excellence*, who by God’s eternal laws possessed the ‘right of taking tithes of all that grew, and the power of binding ‘or loosing souls on earth and in heaven.’ He was often non-resident for years together, regarding the cure of souls as a source of income only. His church, in such a case, was sometimes left actually vacant; more often uneducated and inefficient men were found to perform the duties for next to nothing. (After the Black Death had reduced the numbers of these unbeneficed clergy they, like the labourers, stood out for higher pay, and in spite of threats of canonical procedure against them on the part of the bishops, they got an increased wage, eleven marks a year instead of five.) The level of clerical morals, in beneficed and unbeneficed alike, was low. Vicious and coarse as were the lay-folk, records remain in such quantity and in such concord of testimony as to suggest that the standard of the clergy in their personal life was, if possible, even lower. They were nowhere held in respect, yet they retained their authority by reason of the superstitious terror men had of their quasi-supernatural powers.

None the less at a visitation parishioners did not hesitate to ‘present’ their curate, and the returns give a grievous picture of neglect and idleness and vice. They always have much to say as to the unsatisfactory condition of the fabric, the fonts, vestments, and service-books; and the commonest fault is the state of the roof and windows of the chancel, which should be kept in order by the (non-resident) rector, or by the monastery which had ‘appropriated’ the tithes. The unfortunate results of enforced celibacy are set forth in statements which cannot be treated as malicious gossip, since they are the official testimony of leading inhabitants in each parish. The vicar of — is bound to supply at his own expense a clerk to serve in the church, and read and sing and toll the bell. Instead of this he sends his two maids to ring, and has them also to help him at the celebration of Mass ‘contrary to ecclesiastical decorum’; and there is grave suspicion as to his relations with them in his house. Another vicar’s maid ‘has thrice given birth to children ‘in his house.’ Such cases can be multiplied indefinitely, and

the penalties are amazingly inadequate—to abstain from saying Mass for a month or two, to pay thirteen shillings and fourpence ‘for pious uses,’ to offer a wax candle of a pound weight, and other such trivialities. Or perhaps the incumbent or vicar is merely warned that if again reported in respect of a female parishioner, he will be deprived. A man may even be instituted by the bishop to a benefice with a mandate to the archdeacon to report if he cohabited with a certain woman, in which case he was to pay fifteen marks. Occasionally the lay-people, despairing of redress from the bishop, took matters into their own hands, and hideously mutilated an offending priest, *sua pudenda horribiliter precipiendo*.

But though incontinence is the most frequent charge, there are many others. At a funeral the priest has been heard to mutter opprobrious words over the corpse. Or he refuses to admit to the sacraments a parishioner whose tithes have not been settled to his liking; even servants are repelled unless a tenth of their wages is given to him. There have been repeated long absences without provision of a deputy, much frequenting of taverns, disorderly scenes at night, the secrets of the confessional talked over in beer-shops, *et multa alia detestabilia*.

Scattered about in every parish was a whole legion of clergy, mostly in minor orders, with all sorts of occupations, and many of them with all the vices of the loafer. Some were teachers, some kept accounts for the landowners and merchants—*i.e.*, were ‘clerks’ in the modern sense. Some were chantry priests, receiving from a legacy a small yearly stipend for saying Masses for the testator’s soul. Most of these casually employed clerics were of doubtful character, but their shaven crowns protected them in their misdeeds; for every cleric was exempt from the jurisdiction of the secular courts. ‘*Dominus pars hereditatis mee* is ‘a meri verset That has take fro tybourne twenty strong theves.’ Anyone who could translate this ‘neck-verse’ was claimed for the bishop’s prison, and presently allowed to escape, or to ‘purge’ himself, or, if condemned, suffered only light penance or brief imprisonment. In the fifteenth century the formalities of ‘purgation’ were little more than an assurance of immunity. The accused clerk—convicted perhaps in a secular court for rape, robbery, burglary, homicide, theft, wounding, or embezzle-

ment*—is claimed and lodged in the episcopal prison. The bishop now and again obtains pardon from the Crown 'for 'escapes from his custody of persons convicted of felony.' In such a case the porter of the palace, who is keeper of the bishop's gaol, may have to pledge himself by four sureties in £100 to hold the prisoners safe *in compedibus, collariis ferriis, armeboltis et neck-cheynes, et aliis catenarum et vinculorum generibus*. Failing escape, the prisoner was required to find priests or tonsured clerks, usually twelve, to swear that they believed him innocent. And the same names occur so frequently in these lists as to suggest that in some dioceses certain clergy might almost have been called professional compurgators. Even a strong and earnest bishop might well hesitate seriously to deal with a bad case, since it was likely to entail years of litigation, which might be carried even to Rome, to be finally decided by bribery, or by the fixed policy of the Church to smother scandals rather than to amend them.

The monasteries, even more than the parishes, called for the bishop's reforming vigilance. Medieval literature simply swarms with stories of monastic immoralities. From the ribald tales of Chaucer and Boccaccio in the fourteenth, right on to the elaborate satire of the *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* in the early sixteenth century, scurrilous attacks upon the persons, manners, and character of ecclesiastics are frequent, and evidently congenial to general feeling. It is not easy to estimate how far the satirical and popular literature of any age may be taken as representative of its life. 'Satire,' says Mark Pattison, 'to be 'popular must exaggerate, but it must be exaggeration of 'known and recognised facts. Satire does not create the 'sentiment to which it appeals.' Caricatures, then, are not history, yet history may be extracted from them. And the element of substantial historical truth which underlies these lampoons on monks and friars can be authenticated from the official reports of episcopal visitations. After allowing for the fact that in such records all that is amiss is of necessity described in detail, whilst much of what is done well is as naturally left out, the case against the monasteries is very black. Almost everywhere there are accusations of incontinence. It has

* These cases occurred in one small diocese within twelve years.

become the usual formula with the visiting bishop to forbid intercourse with 'suspect' women, and not to allow women into *loca intrinseca, nisi sint mulieres honestae*. In London, at the hospital without Bishopsgate, in the early years of the fourteenth century, two women (one of them married) kept a sort of brothel *infra ambitum monasterii*. This and the like entries—they could be multiplied *ad nauseam*—help us to understand what Gower wrote some fifty years later:—

‘In chirches and in minsters eke
They gon the women for to seke.’

Apart from sexual immorality we hear in many places of *commestiones et potaciones in villa*, of quarrelling and fighting among the brothers, of priors being wounded unto death, of monks attacking fellow-monks with axes, of *contumeliosa verba* being bandied across the choir during Mass. (When a canon of St. Osyth's was punished for stabbing the prior with a knife, the prior in his turn is significantly enjoined henceforth to make himself *mansuetus et affabilis inter fratres*.) The penalty for these and the like misdeeds is removal to another monastic house, where the offender is restricted to bread and water on Wednesdays and Fridays; or he is sent on pilgrimage to Rome to obtain absolution from the pope, with twenty shillings for journey money, and strict instructions not to tarry on the way back.

A typical visitation is that held at Wigmore in 1424, when, as was usual, the bishop's commissaries cross-examined the abbot and prior and each of the brothers separately. It is hard to get the exact facts by reason of the 'hard swearing,' reported at considerable length. The abbot who, it was alleged, had been irregularly elected before his predecessor's burial—some said before even his death—confessed to having alienated a manor, a tenement in Hereford, and two 'vils' which had been bequeathed to the abbey. And it was asserted that by his negligence the buildings had suffered dilapidation to the value of £100 (equivalent to £1000 or more in our day). The daily services in the choir were neglected, the canons absenting themselves whenever they pleased, and at least three of them (out of eleven in all) being guilty of flagrant sexual immorality. When two of the canons had obtained from the archbishop a mandate to summon a general chapter of the order to deal

with the state of things at Wigmore, the abbot had expelled them from the monastery, but they were forcibly restored by the Earl of March as founder. Unfortunately we do not know how the bishop dealt with these abuses, for five leaves containing the last portion of the story have been deliberately abstracted, and the paging of the register tampered with in a clumsy attempt to conceal the theft. Discounting, as we must, the evidence of the worthless agents who conducted the great visitation of 1536, a study of the episcopal registers for the two preceding centuries, and the testimony of a distinguished scholar like Gascoigne,* compel us to believe that the charges of Henry's commissioners, though doubtless exaggerated, were in the main well founded.

In the later years of the fourteenth and throughout the fifteenth century the smouldering resentment of the laity against the Church took definite shape in two movements, distinct yet tending in the same direction. One is the attack upon the moral abuses in the Church, together with its temporal and political power; the other is the growing spirit of scepticism. The former is represented by Wycliffe and the Lollards, whose story is known to everyone; the latter by the rise of the New Learning, 'the crossing of the Alps by Greece.' This second movement was not specifically directed against the Church; it rather produced an atmosphere in which the Church's tapers could not burn, but flickered out of themselves. Nor did it make for moral reform. 'When Zion was running riot, was it 'likely that austere virtue should take refuge on Olympus?' Far back in the thirteenth century we find traces of half-pagan revolt against the Church's whole view of life. Aucassin, in the French *cante-fable*, when he is threatened with the pains of hell and loss of Paradise, would not care, he says, to enter heaven with the worn-out aged priests who cling night and day to the chapel altars, barefoot or in patched sandals. 'These be they 'that go to Paradise, and with them have I nought to make.

* 'It is not easy to understand how these monasteries declined in character and usefulness till they came to the condition which is described so indignantly by Gascoigne—a condition which renders probable the charges which Henry the Eighth's commissioners made against them.' J. E. Thorold Rogers, 'Six Centuries of Work and Wages,' ii., 362.

'But into hell I fain would go; for into hell fare the goodly scholars, and the goodly knights that fall in tourneys and great wars, and stout men-at-arms, and all men noble. With these I would rather go.' This, though perhaps the most famous, is not the only expression of the spirit of rebellion, the claim for liberty of heart and thought, even in the early thirteenth century. Three hundred years later the human intellect was free, but the humanist had paid a heavy price for his freedom. And the price was the loss of all moral standard, of all respect for what had been called right and wrong. The men of the Renaissance had 'found out' the moral code of the Middle Age. That code, as expounded by the medieval Church, had condoned for money so many evil deeds, had declared so many natural things to be wrong, had denounced so many innocent things as sin, that now things sinful and unspeakably unnatural had ceased to be looked upon as evil. Moral feeling became not so much warped as non-existent. Right and wrong were a mere matter of taste or personal idiosyncrasy. And so we get Renaissance Italy, where Thomas Cromwell — 'an Englishman Italianised is a devil incarnate' — learnt from Macchiavelli that ruthless statecraft which struck down the English monasteries and revolutionised the English Church, not by the progress of education and piety, but by brute force, by bloodshed reduced to a system.

ARTHUR T. BANNISTER.

MELEAGER OF GADARA

1. **The Greek Anthology.** With an English translation. By W. R. PATON. Loeb Classical Library. 5 vols. W. Heinemann. 1916-18.
2. **Anthologia Graeca.** Ed. H. STADTMUELLER. Leipzig: Teubner. 1894.
3. **Méléagre de Gadara.** By H. OUVRE. Paris. 1894.

MELEAGER, son of Eucles, was born towards the end of the second century B.C. in the Syrian town of Gadara.

He began literary work with a volume of satirical prose dialogues in the manner of Menippus. Its title, 'The Graces,' and the names of two dialogues, 'The Symposium' and 'The Case of the Buttered Pancake versus the Lentil Porridge,' are preserved by Athenaeus. The book itself, although famous in its day, is now lost, eclipsed by the superior charm of Lucian's essays in the same style. But while he was still a student at Gadara and before the publication of 'The Graces,' Meleager had probably written the first draft of 'The Poems of Youthful Love,' celebrating the beauty of his university comrades. A second volume published at Tyre and consisting of poems addressed to his various mistresses, notably to Zenophila and Heliodora, records the love adventures of his manhood. Towards late middle age he left Tyre for the island of Cos, and formed there an attachment to a young girl, Phanion. His closing years were occupied by the compilation of the 'Anthology,' and he died at an advanced old age.

Such in brief outline are all the facts we know of the circumstances of Meleager's career. He is so far happy that it is impossible to write his history, and the outward accidents of his life were certainly as unimportant to him as they are to us. Few Greek authors have told us so much about themselves, but Meleager is concerned only with the adventures of his heart. He lived through a period when the whole fabric of the ancient world was being shattered and built anew; he was a contemporary of Sulla and Lucullus, of Jugurtha and Mithridates, of Caesar and Cleopatra. He probably saw Pompey on his

triumphant progress through Syria. He was certainly in Asia on that day of vengeance when 80,000 Italians were put to death between sunrise and sunset. He may even have been alive when the last of the Greek kingdoms went down in blood and fire before the might of Rome at Actium.

But of all this he says nothing. He is a lover and he is an artist: the rest he leaves to others. Yet in spite of—or perhaps because of—his complete indifference to politics and worldly affairs, he is a figure of the first importance in the history of literature and morals. He is not a man of action like Solon and Sophocles, not a courtier and scholar like Theocritus and Callimachus: he is a poet and a poet only. Love and poetry suffice to fill his life. In him first among the ancients we see appearing the true spirit of modern literature, a feverish and unresting search for the ideal, a struggle between the conflicting claims of the body and the spirit, an intimate sense of the beauty of women and the beauty of Nature. He is the direct inspirer of Propertius and Ovid, and from him more than from any other the singers of the early Renaissance in France and Italy derive. Not merely is he the first Greek to write love poetry in the modern sense of the word, but in the 'Anthology' he has left us perhaps the most attractive of all the memorials of Greek genius, remembering always that although he is a Greek he is a Greek of the dispersion, as far removed from Periclean Athens as Heinrich Heine was from a medieval ghetto.

It may then be of some interest to use the hints which he himself gives us, and to retrace more fully the story of his life. His father was probably a man of wealth, for Meleager was always a money spender rather than a money maker, and yet is unlike most of his fellow-poets in that he never complains of any lack of material resources. It may well be that Eucles was the head of one of those Greek trading houses that had established themselves in the East after the conquests of Alexander, and it is more than likely that he married a woman of the country. The poet's mother quite probably was a Jewess, a Naomi or Rachel, and Meleager derived at least as much from the Eastern fervour of her imagination as he did from his father's Greek qualities of subtlety and grace. It is from his mother that his unique gifts come, and just as Zeno, that other Semite, brought

new life into Greek philosophy, so in Meleager the mixture of Greek and Jewish blood produced a new form of poetry, and from the long pressed flowers of Greek speech he is able to extract a fresh and intoxicating perfume.

We can imagine the child roaming by his mother's side through the meadows about the town, gay with wild lilies, yellow and white, and we may be sure that the day came all too soon when he had to abandon childish things and begin his formal education. We are apt to think of Gadara as a small Eastern village, dirty and malodorous, with herds of pigs roaming amid the houses; but in Meleager's time it was very far from being a village. To-day its site, a rocky plateau, commanding the valley of the Yarmouk, with the lake of Tiberias in the far distance, is a bare stretch of desert; but the ruins of two theatres and a row of sculptured columns, which apparently bordered one of its main streets, still bear witness to a happier past. In the second century B.C. the land that is now almost abandoned was filled with busy towns, and Gadara was but one of the group of ten Greek cities, scattered up and down the Jordan valley. It was a meeting-place where Greeks and Jews contended for mastery, arguing continually and occasionally coming to blows, famous for its trade and still more for its reputation as a literary and scholastic centre.

Like most Greek university towns, it owed its position originally to one great man. What Socrates was to Athens, that Menippus had been to Gadara in the third century B.C. The great cynic was one of the most remarkable figures of his age and attracted eager disciples from Egypt and Syria, from the islands of the Aegean, and even from Greece itself; philosopher, teacher, and writer, a humorist and a scientist like Theophrastus before him and the inventor of a new literary form, the Menippean Satire. We have no details of the teaching foundation which carried on the Master's traditions, but that such a foundation was established is a probable inference confirmed by the series of distinguished writers coming from Gadara after Menippus' death — Meleager, Philodemus, Theodorus, Oenomaus, and Apsines. Meleager himself speaks of his birth-place as the Syrian Athens, and we should perhaps be not far from the truth if we pictured Gadara in his day as a smaller provincial model of the great Greek university town, drawing

its pupils not like Athens from the whole world, but from the cities of Syria and the adjacent islands.

Here the young Syrian received the usual academic training in philosophy and rhetoric. But more effective than any master's teaching was the stimulus given to his passionate nature by the friendships, quickly formed and quickly ended, which the constant influx of young strangers rendered so easy. His comrades now took his mother's place and with them he climbed the hills; with them he caught the tuneful cicadas which it was the custom in Syria, as it is still in Japan, for boys to keep in little wicker cages; with them he tasted all the simple joys of the country which he recounts in the 'Spring Song,' a lyric so commonly assigned to Meleager that we may disregard the doubts as to his authorship. The whole poem is full of the freshness of youth, and its last stanza strikes a note of exultation rare indeed in Greek poetry :—

'Now trees with tender leaves are gay,
Now sailors sail the seas,
The shepherds pipe their roundelay,
Loud swarm the clustering bees.
Now every bird is on the wing,
So how can poets help but sing!'

To this period probably belong the delicate little verses to the grasshopper :—

'O tuneful cricket, drunk with drops of rain,
Whose rustic muse fills all the broad domain,
Perched on the highest spray you strike your lyre
With swarthy skin and legs of curving wire.
Come little friend and sing, that nymphs may hear
And Pan in jest repeat your music clear.
While I reclining 'neath the plane tree deep,
Escaped from love will snatch my midday sleep.'

And it is to the period of his youth rather than his manhood that we should give the poems in which he celebrates those passionate attachments, so common among the Greeks, where alone they could find expression for the youthful desire for romance, which their customs diverted from its natural channel, the love of young man and maid. Of his own and of his comrades' friendships Meleager sings, of the affection that joined Heraclitus to Damis, Alexis to Cleobulus :—

‘Two things are sweet : honey with wine to blend,
 And in one’s youth to love a loving friend.
 Such love Alexis Cleobulus gives,
 For in their hearts the Cyprian’s nectar lives.’

And in his emotions Meleager shows all the extravagance of youth ; each new comrade is the most graceful, the most charming, the most delightful friend that ever poet possessed. The lines to Dionysius are a fair example of this perfervid enthusiasm :—

‘Fond lovers, ye who know
 The might of Cupid’s fire,
 Whose hearts do ever flow
 With sweetness of desire :
 How bitter will that honey taste,
 How all your soul those fires waste.

‘Come, help me, help I pray,
 My heart is all aflame :
 By fire consumed away
 Since Dionysius came.
 Quick, water, water bring me now—
 Fresh from the newly melted snow.

‘Too bold was I, I gazed
 On Dionysius’ eyes,
 Wherefrom a fire blazed
 And caught me as its prize.
 O fellow slaves the burning stay
 Or else in fire I pass away.’

But these fiery emotions soon burned themselves out, and Dionysius is only one of the crowd of fellow-students to whom in turn Meleager was attracted. There are Diophantus, Dositheus, and Theron. Of the last of these he writes :—

‘Gazing on thee, dear Theron, all I see,
 For thou art all the universe to me.
 When thou art gone, tho’ all things else be there,
 My eyes see nought but darkness everywhere.’

There is Heraclitus of Magnesia, now like the sun melting the hearts of men, now like the stone of his country, drawing to himself the thoughts of all : Alexis with whom Meleager wandered through the corn and watched the bearded grain

swaying in the wind: Antiochus and Zoilus, whom Venus herself can hardly distinguish from her own son:—

‘Love has his bow, his quiver, and his wings,
And passion’s dart wherewith men’s souls he stings;
But if we know him by his rosy face,
Young Zoilus has all young Cupid’s grace.
Put them beside together—none could prove
Which is my Zoilus and which is Love.’

To each of his comrades he dedicates a poem: to Aristagoras, Diodorus, Dorotheus, Apollodotus; to Andragathus, who returned to his native Rhodes and left his young friend heart-broken; to Theocles, who came a stranger to a stranger’s land and at once took Meleager captive in the chains of love; to Charidemus, a youth too fair and gracious surely for this world:—

‘But when from earth he rises to the sky
My tears shall go with him—love’s memory—
To lave his feet, the while he sweetly nods
And sends a fleeting kiss from ’midst the gods.’

But most beloved of all was Myiscus of Tyre, for whose company the young scholar too often would desert his books and forget his allegiance to ‘Queen Wisdom.’ To Myiscus he writes again and again—at first half reluctant:—

‘Once I would laugh at love-sick swains,
Their tender griefs, their amorous pains,
Their ever streaming eyes.
But now winged Love with pride elate
Brings me, Myiscus, to thy gate—
Behold a virgin prize.’

And it is not long before he is a willing prisoner, and like a modern lover his happiness depends, or he imagines that it depends, on pleasing the one dear object:—

‘On thee, Myiscus, now I all depend
My days to live or end.
The bonds that hold me fast to life’s dear shore
Without thee bind no more.
By those bright eyes that bid the deaf to hear,
By thy pure brow I swear;
If sudden clouds obscure that visage bright,
For me ’tis winter’s night.
But when a rosy smile dispels the gloom,
Behold spring’s radiant bloom.’

All other youths now seem ungraceful; they are like the morning stars that fade away before the sun. The poet would fain forget all the world for Myiscus, and longs to hide him deep in his heart so that no other eye might see. Cupid himself acknowledges defeat:—

‘Love saw Myiscus passing by
And followed quick with eager cry—
My bow, my quiver I resign,
My winged arrow—all are thine.
Take e’en my wings; but let me press
My lips to those lips’ loveliness.’

So the passionate friendship progressed, and when Myiscus, his studies at Gadara ended, returned to Tyre, Meleager also after a few weeks of loneliness decided to seek the great city, and say good-bye to his native fields:—

‘Farewell ye vales, where once I loved to roam,
Farewell the pleasures of my mountain home.
No longer with the flocks, like goat foot Pan,
Shall I remain ’mid fields untouched by man.
What joy to live now on these lonely hills?
What solace there to find for all my ills?
Daphnis is gone, who set my heart on fire:
Daphnis is gone—and quenched my heart’s desire.
Let others hunt: the chase I now abhor,
What once was dear is dear to me no more.
From country clean and hillside I come down
To live a sojourner in the crowded town!’

The change from Gadara to Tyre was as though one were to leave Oxford for Liverpool. Tyre was then an independent city maintaining a shadow of freedom amid the decaying anarchy of the Seleucid empire, a market for Greeks and Romans, Phoenicians and Syrians, as great a centre of commerce and pleasure as ancient Corinth itself. Its inner streets were dirty with the fumes of dye works, for Tyre was the chief centre of the dye industry, producing from the crushed shells of the murex the crimson and purple colours which were for the ancients the very symbols of luxury and magnificence. But the great temple of Melkarth and Astoreth with its holy fish and sacred courtesans, where the worship of the Syrian Heracles was combined with that of the Syrian Aphrodite, gave the pleasures of the town something of religious mystery. The

outer suburbs, under the last slopes of Lebanon, were among the most beautiful spots in all the world.

The same influences that colour the Song of Songs produced the love poems of Meleager, and among the women of Tyre with their voluptuous charm he soon forgot his boyish loves and began a fresh search for beauty :—

‘ Farewell, my youthful loves—’tis vain
To cast the reckoning of loss and gain :
Those pleasures fugitive
I take not now nor give.
A fairer image fills my heart,
A love where boyhood’s fancies have no part ;
Escaped from their stronghold
I fly the loves of old.’

In modern literature we are so accustomed to find the beauty of Nature and the beauty of women regarded as the natural themes of poetry that we are apt to forget that in the Greek, from which all modern literature derives, this is far from being the case. The development of romance in literature is a long and painful process, and Meleager took a great step forward on the road when he made the love of women the chief subject of his verse. He is not of course himself a true romantic. He is too universal a lover to deserve that name. His mistresses make a trade of love, and he knows nothing of the virtues of continence and constancy. But though he is passionate and even sensuous, he is never coarse, and even in his most glowing poems he seldom overpasses the somewhat narrow limits of modern convention. A comparison with any other of the love poets of the ‘ Anthology,’ with his compatriot Philodemus, with Rufinus, or with Agathias, will reveal the essential delicacy of Meleager’s art. He is free alike from brutality, pedantry, and triviality—the three besetting sins of our collection ; and considering the mechanical imperfections of the Palatine MS., it is safe to regard with the greatest suspicion the few poems there attributed to him which fall below his usual level.

Of the poems he wrote at Tyre some fifty now remain, and they form a series unique in Greek literature. His mistresses were many—too many a northerner would think for one man truly to love. But with Meleager the most short lived of passions will inspire a couplet that remains immortal. There

is Demo, the pale Jewess, who even in Tyre yearned for the glories of the Temple at Jerusalem; Asclepias, whose smiling face like the summer sea allured all men to brave with her the perils of Love's ocean; Timarion, whose lips are a limed lure and in whose bright eyes Eros himself as he winged his way through heaven was taken prisoner. Usually the poet finds that the joys of love outweigh its sorrows. Lycaenis, it is true, played him false, but she is quickly dismissed:—

‘Go, Dorcas, go, and to Lycaenis say,
“He knows you now, beware;
Hope not again feigned kisses will betray;
Time shows how false they are.”’

And of Scylla he writes with half humorous resentment:—

‘Love's cruel waves and Riot's boisterous sea
And Passion's restless winds encompass me.
I know not where I go—my storm-tossed soul
Leaves my life's ship without its helm's control.
Perchance like that famed mariner of yore,
The Scylla whom I fled will capture me once more.’

But in most cases he sings in a much lighter strain. He jokes upon his mistress' name, and to Tryphera—La belle Bella—writes:—

‘As sure as Venus rose once from the sea,
So sure may Tryphera of her beauty be.’

To Callistion, with an elaborate play on letters hardly to be translated:—

‘The Syracusans have a sign
That did a double purpose play.
And now I call Callistion mine,
I wish that we were free as they.
For though I sing her curving lips,
Often I really mean her hips.’

In trifles such as these Meleager is scarcely serious. He shows himself a true Syrian, charming in spite of his levity, lovable in spite of his inconstancy. In the madrigals to Zenophila we see first the dawn of deeper feeling. He begins with fanciful conceits—a message given to a gnat to take to his mistress; a warning to mosquitoes not to prey on her soft warm limbs; lines to the little Cupid lurking in Zenophila's eyes; and to the wine cup that had the felicity of touching her

lips. Then come a group of poems in which one thought—Zenophila's triple charm—is decked with changing metaphors:—

‘Love strewed her bed with lovers’ charms,
The fairies sent her fairy grace;
Cupid was spoiled of beauty’s arms
To deck my Zeno’s face.’

And finally two pieces which anticipate his later perfection, one a model for Herrick and all the Elizabethans:—

‘Now the white violet blooms and now
The daffodillies drink the rain.’

The other to his sleeping mistress:—

‘Asleep, my Zeno! With what wanton grace
The damask blooms upon that smiling face.
A wingless dream might I those eyelids close,
And near inhale the fragrance of that rose.
Not e’en the sleep that charms the gods above
Should come between us then to mar our love.
But in enfolding arms securely pressed,
Alone I’d lull my darling to her rest.’

In the poems to Zenophila, charming though they are, there is more of the head than the heart, more of literary fancy than true affection. It is only when Meleager is writing of Heliodora that he puts aside all levity and exaggeration and we hear at last the accents of real love. This was the last and the grand passion of his manhood, and it lifts him into the small class of great lovers. For Heliodora—rose of roses—he wrote the first true love poems we possess, and it is a curious fact, significant to those who believe in the mysterious significance of names, that as the Syrian Heliodora is the first Greek woman to whom love poems were written, so the Syrian Heliodorus, three centuries later, is the first man who wrote a love story in Greek.

To Heliodora, Meleager remained faithful to the end. ‘Open my heart,’ he cries, ‘and you will find my Heliodora’s name,’ and the elegy that he wrote long after her death still reminds us of the truth and tenderness of his love. We have the history of their passion in some twenty short poems, as various as love itself. Sometimes the poet is oppressed by the fervency of his desires:—

‘The sound of Love still rings within my ears,
 Still from my eyes in silence flow sweet tears.
 Nor night nor day can give my anguish rest :
 Love charms have fixed one thought within my breast.
 O wingéd fancies, are your wings in vain ?
 Have you no strength to fly from me again ?’

But more often he is as blithe and merry as an Irish song writer.

‘I’ve said it before,
 And they’ll say it again,
 My love’s lip’s the sweetest
 You ever have seen.

‘You’d perhaps like to know,
 Helydora’s her name ;
 She’s a fairy who puts
 E’en the fairies to shame.’

Occasionally he pretends that he would fain escape from the delicious thralldom :—

‘Did I not tell thee, O my heart,
 Did I not warn thee : “Choose thy part ;
 For thee is set the snare,
 Poor Amoret beware.”

‘Lo ! now the trap has caught your wing
 And stayed its busy fluttering ;
 Gasping you cry for breath,
 Love’s prisoner till death.

‘Athirst you cry and cry in vain,
 Tears, burning tears, must ease your pain,
 Swooning in scented fire,
 Consumed by Love’s desire.’

But he knows that this is but pretence and it is the high exultation of his happiness that resounds most often :—

‘O Night divine, mother of all things fair,
 Thou that doth know Love’s revels—hear my prayer.
 When Heliodora’s arms that cozen sleep
 In her warm couch their willing prisoner keep,
 Do thou put out the light, while on her breast
 Rocked like Endymion by a goddess’ side I rest.’

He finds no pleasure in the daylight hours and calls for the evening star to come with the presence of the beloved :—

‘Hail and farewell, bright star,
Glad harbinger of morn,
Thou leavest me forlorn,
Oh, cruel morning star.

‘As light of eve return,
And through the darkness guide
My darling to my side,
Let her to me return.’

The beauty of flowers seems to him alone able to match the beauty of his mistress, and he cries :—

‘Bring me the flowers that yestereve
Upon her brow were set.
Look how the roses seem to grieve
With perfumed fragrance wet.
They know that she is far away,
Who then upon my bosom lay.’

And in the most beautiful of all the poems he combines the two :—

‘The violet white I’ll twine,
I’ll twine the laughing lilies,
And safran sweet combine
With languorous daffodillies.

‘The hyacinth’s crimson crest
I’ll twine with myrtle posies,
And then ’mid all the rest
I’ll twine true lovers’ roses.

‘That so my falling wreath
For Heliodora fair
May match with perfumed breath
The fragrance of her hair.’

When Heliodora died and when Meleager left Tyre we do not know, but we may infer that the two events were not unconnected. In any case, the poet spent all his manhood in the Phoenician capital, happy in the company of his mistress and his friends, writing verses for his own pleasure and theirs. Of three of these friends, Antipater of Sidon, Archias of Antioch, and Philodemus of Gadara, we happen to know—thanks to Cicero—somewhat more than of Meleager himself. Antipater

was considerably the elder of the band, and in so far as Meleager was influenced by any of his predecessors—which is very little—it is Antipater more than anyone who served him as a first model, the Leigh Hunt to a Syrian Keats. Antipater, whom Cicero so admired for his power of improvisation, was both a scholar and a *bon vivant*, a figure not unlike Ben Jonson, and his epigrams on Pindar, Homer, Sappho and many others, collected by Meleager in his ‘Anthology,’ still remain to us. The epitaph on Antipater usually attributed to Meleager is probably spurious, but it may well be that in the epitaph on Anacreon, wrongly divided and wrongly attributed in the Palatine MS., we have the true version:—

‘Gush forth, ye springs of wine,
 Ye founts ambrosial flow.
 Ye myrtles drink the tender rain
 And evening violets bloom again
 To greet the bard below.

‘Unsought your welcome give,
 Unsought the nectar pour.
 Some golden girl within his arms,
 Wine, dance and song, with her soft charms
 Shall lighten death’s dark hour.’

Archias was probably somewhat younger than Meleager, for he arrived in Rome as a young man B.C. 102, the year when Marius and Catulus were consuls. We have a full length official portrait of him in Cicero’s famous speech, and a few somewhat colourless epigrams in the ‘Anthology’ which show very plainly the influence of Meleager. He is the type of the youthful prodigy, and his powers of verse improvisation seemed to the Romans almost miraculous; but as a poet he cannot be compared to Meleager. Philodemus is a more interesting character. A compatriot of Meleager’s, he went to Rome apparently in middle life, taking with him at least one copy of Meleager’s poems, for Propertius obviously had just been reading Meleager when he wrote:—

‘Quicunque ille fuit puerum qui pinxit amorem.’

As Cicero tells us in the speech against Piso, the Syrian at once became popular among the dissolute young nobles, who sought clumsily enough to find an excuse for their vulgar debauchery

in the doctrines of Epicurus and Menippus. Philodemus at his best is not unworthy to rank with Meleager in his more trivial moods, but either from the effects of Roman society or by his own nature he is on a much lower plane of sentiment. He is coarse where Meleager is subtle, outspoken where Meleager is reticent. Of the actual features that made Heliodora beautiful, Meleager no more tells us than Homer gives a description of Helen ; but Philodemus in his ecstatic portrait of Flora, la Belle Romaine, is explicit to the verge of impropriety :—

‘What feet she has, what legs, what waist, what thighs,
What shoulders, breasts, what tender neck and eyes.
I rave, I die to touch her rosy arms,
Her round perfections and her secret charms.
How sweet her kisses after other lips,
How quick the movement of her swaying hips.
How soft her voice, when at love’s hour she cries :
“Oh, let me die in these dear ecstasies.”
Her name is Flora—true : she knows no Greek
Nor any language but her own to speak.
But what is that to me ! Did Perseus fear
To wed Andromeda, his Indian dear ?
With limbs like hers, she needs not Sappho’s wit—
No man will ever see she wanteth it.’

In this pleasant company of frail beauties and poet lovers Meleager spent his days, and it was probably Heliodora’s death that induced him to leave the riotous splendour of Tyre for the seclusion of Cos. The island, his last home, was one of the oldest Dorian settlements, famous as the birthplace of Hippocrates, and indeed even to-day they show the tree under which the great physician used to sit. Aratus, the poet astronomer, Herondas, the mime writer, and Philetas, all had associations with Cos, and the temple of Asklepios, with its statue of the veiled Aphrodite, was a place of pious pilgrimage. Here, surrounded by a quiet folk whose main trade was the tending of their vines and the making of those soft, transparent fabrics that women loved to wear, the poet gradually recovered from the grief of Heliodora’s death. And as he recovered—for such is the weakness of the human heart—he felt the need again of companionship, and had the happiness to find a young girl—Phanion, his ‘beacon fire’—who seems to have cheered his last years :—

‘To fly from love I tried,
 But when I sought to hide,
 Quickly he found me.
 From out the ashes gray
 Shot forth his torch’s ray
 And shone around me.

‘No shafts at me he sent,
 But with his two hands bent
 And fingers curving,
 Unseen the torch he broke,
 A spark of fire took,
 And thrust unswerving.

‘Now, from that tiny flame
 Which to my bosom came,
 A fire has kindled.
 Thou Phanion art the light
 That cheers my winter’s night
 With joy unmingled.’

Once at least he left the island for some destination in Asia, perhaps in search of material for the ‘Anthology’ which occupied these years, and he sends this message to his young friend:—

‘Ye light winged barques that Helle’s passage sail,
 Your bosoms swelling to the northern gale,
 If in your course the Coan shore you reach
 And see my Phanion gazing from the beach,
 Tell my sweet darling that by land I come,
 And soon my love will bring me dry foot home.
 Oh, take my message quick, and as you go
 May every favouring breeze your canvas blow.’

And it is to Phanion doubtless that he wrote the wistful lines:—

‘If beauty falls away,
 Then, ere it fade,
 Yield me my part.
 If constant it doth stay,
 Why be afraid
 To give your heart?’

The poems of his old age are chiefly commemorative: the beautiful verses on the death of Clearista, the epitaph on Aisigenes and inscriptions to accompany the votive offerings that were made so often at Cos to Asklepios and to the goddess who shared his temple. Of one such simple offering made by

the poet himself we have his record. He takes his lamp—a Greek lamp of course, not our turnip shaped monstrosity, but as Renan says, ‘Rounded like a woman’s breast, slim and graceful ‘like a ship’—and sets it before the statue of Aphrodite:—

‘The lamp that once thy revels knew
And saw Love’s vigil mystery.
The poet gives an offering due,
Dear Queen of Love, to thee.’

We may imagine that as such a lamp softly expires, so happily and in contentment the flame of Meleager’s life drew to its end. But before he died he had completed the great work of his old age, the ‘Stephanos’—or as we translate it the ‘Garland,’ although the Greek word has wider and different associations from ours, suggesting as it does the triumph of victory in the games, the luxury of voluptuous banquets, the perfumes of flowers offered to a beloved mistress. Meleager’s selection, which began with Sappho and ended with his own poems, is the original from which our present ‘Anthology,’ whether in the Palatine manuscript or the Planudean recension, has evolved. We can still see plain traces of his handiwork in the overgrown collection that we possess, although it is now very far from being in the shape that he gave it. His text, probably much shorter than ours, was arranged alphabetically according to the first word of each poem. Ours is divided into sixteen books, according to subject matter, love poems, dedications, epitaphs, etc., and there is a tendency for poems to run in series according to their author, the two arrangements creating a sense of monotony which Meleager’s system insensibly avoided.

But still the ‘Garland’ was the basis on which all the later editors worked, cutting out from Meleager’s selection and adding fresh poems of their own. The list is a long one: Philip of Thessalonica in the first century A.D., Straton of Sardis and Diogenianus of Heraclea in the second, Agathias under Justinian, Constantinus Cephalas at Byzantium in the tenth century. His was the last edition containing original contemporary work, and the monk Maximus Planudes in the thirteenth century contented himself with the task of revision. All these editions introduced alterations, and their changes, it need hardly be said, are usually for the worse, decadent Byzantine verse taking the place of the Alexandrians and the classical Greek poets. But we must be

thankful that so many of Meleager's own poems—we have some 800 lines of his—are preserved, for it is a notable fact that although the 'Anthology' contains poems written by authors of greater fame than Meleager, no one comes near to equalling him here.

That is perhaps one of the advantages of selection, and certainly in composing the 'Anthology' Meleager had many circumstances in his favour. He was a man of wealth and leisure, and had access to the great store of manuscripts collected in the Alexandrian Museum; he lived in the last days of Hellenism, when the age of poetical production was almost over; he was a poet himself and a critic of the finest taste, devoid alike of pedantry and futile jealousy; and lastly, he made the collection in his old age when the critical faculty is at its best. The methods of his criticism are not ours, for they are imaginative rather than scientific; but the preface to his 'Anthology' is perhaps the greatest *tour de force* in all the history of appreciation, so exquisitely are flowers and poets blended together. The choice of the myrtle for Callimachus, the honeysuckle for Anacreon, the thorn for Archilochus, the gopher for Antipater takes the place of pages of laborious analysis. Nor is it without interest that in an age like his, which like most ages perhaps was inclined to undervalue the capacity of women, Meleager gives the two fairest flowers—the lily and the rose—to the three women poets whom he places first in his list.

As compared with other poets and forms of poetry neither Meleager nor the 'Anthology' have as yet received the attention which they deserve, and it is with especial gratitude that we welcome the appearance in the Loeb Library of Mr. Paton's excellent edition. For the first time—for the Didot *format* is clumsy and Stadtmueller is incomplete—we have the entire collection available in a convenient shape, the Greek text with an English prose translation. The five volumes contain the epigrams arranged according to the manuscript classification, amatory, sepulchral, declamatory, and convivial; the fifth volume, chiefly occupied with the Planudean Appendix, is by an excellent idea illustrated with woodcuts of the statues and paintings to which the epigrams refer. It could be wished indeed that Mr. Paton had followed the example of Brunck and

Jacobs and arranged the epigrams chronologically under their authors' names, for thus alone is it possible to realise the difference between the poetry of Greece, Alexandria, Byzantium, and Rome. But perhaps we may expect this improvement in the critical edition of the text which Mr. Paton is so well qualified to produce. No one knows better than he the defects of the Palatine MS., its uncertain text, its wrong divisions and false ascriptions of poems, and a drastic revision of the entire collection, with the addition of the new pieces found in recent years, would be a worthy completion of the task which in this edition he has so brilliantly begun.

F. A. WRIGHT.

THE GALLIPOLI EXPEDITION.

1. *Gallipoli Diary*. By Sir IAN HAMILTON. Edward Arnold. 1920.
2. *Life of Lord Kitchener*. By Sir GEORGE ARTHUR. Macmillans. 1920.

THE Diary of Sir Ian Hamilton, which is the most recent addition to the literature of the war, has re-aroused in acute form the discussions on the Dardanelles Campaign, which reached their boiling point on the publication of the First Report of the Dardanelles Commission. Coming within a few weeks of the publication of 'The Life Lord Kitchener' by Sir George Arthur, the picture now presented to us fills in many details which were before left uncertain. It is possible for the circumstances under which the campaign was undertaken and carried through to be as clearly weighed now as at any future date, and any advantage which may be gained from considering the events which led up to this most tragic campaign will surely be greater now than at some more remote period when the lessons to be learned from it will have passed into history.

The publication of personal narratives of military events, which must to some extent be partial, is open to criticism in the case of those who have played a leading part in them. The distinction which exists between officers on the retired list, who can write what they please, and officers on the active list, who can only write by leave of the War Office, has made a deep impression on the public in view of the strictures which Lord French in his narrative has passed on officers who are unable to reply. Sir Ian Hamilton's Diary may be open in more than one case to the same criticism, but it is difficult to see the force of the outcry raised in some quarters against these disclosures on the ground that they involve reflections on Lord Kitchener, and that it is ungenerous to attack a man who has died in his country's service and is unable to reply. This consideration cannot be regarded as conclusive. In dealing with the illustrious dead great care must of course be exercised to give a generous interpretation of faults and motives; but criticisms have from time immemorial necessarily been made on all commanders,

in common with other great men, after their death. To deny to this generation a freedom of narrative, which was exercised by many of the contemporaries of Napoleon and even by his own aide-de-camp, and which would have turned down the brilliant pages in which Professor Oman discusses the character of the Duke of Wellington, would be an unreasonable restriction, and would greatly circumscribe the veracity of history.

Those of us who are concerned for Lord Kitchener's fame believe that his life, and especially his share in the war, will not be rendered less remarkable to his countrymen by the fact that he has been shown to have had a human faculty of erring, together with a power of foresight and strength of will for which there was no parallel in this country or any other during the fateful months which marked the commencement of the storm. These qualities enabled him to estimate the probable duration of the war, and the part Great Britain would have to play at a time when the Germans were looking to a three months' campaign. Indeed, it is probable that if the call for a new army had been issued by any other man the response to it would not have been so universal, and the corresponding 'uplift' of the whole British Empire would not have been so complete.

Sir George Arthur's interesting biography places the difficulties which Lord Kitchener had to meet in the strongest light. As he said himself, he had to create an army. Moreover, he had, what was almost more serious, to create munitions. The War Office may well be congratulated on the admirable organisation which, beginning in Lord Roberts' day, had enabled them to ship the Expeditionary Force within a fortnight; but it is difficult to enter into the feelings of the statesmen who had practically agreed in 1911 to use our Expeditionary Force to supplement the French Army, and who in the three years before the war never added a man, a gun, or a projectile to make good the most vital commitment on which British Ministers had entered since Waterloo, and one of which Parliament and the mass of their fellow-countrymen were ignorant. We know from Lord Haldane's own lips that he was profoundly anxious as to the intentions of Germany in 1911. We know that after Agadir the French and British staffs were working together. The army estimates of 1912, 1913, and 1914 show that there was a heavy deficiency in the numbers of the Regular

Army, the Militia, and the Territorial Force, amounting in the latter year to nearly 100,000 men, and that the only force at full strength was the Army Reserve, due to the three years' system which Lord Roberts had initiated, but which had been subsequently abandoned. Meantime, the votes for guns and projectiles were actually lower in the three years preceding the war * than they had been after the Boer War, when the arsenals were still full of war supplies, and Great Britain had fallen hopelessly behind in heavy mobile artillery, which was to prove the feature of the war, and on which, as the most modest Secret Service could have discovered, the Germans placed their main reliance. Well might Lord Kitchener testify within three days of entering the War Office that, the Expeditionary Force having gone, he found himself with no army and no equipments.

The first Report on the Dardanelles expedition, which takes us up to the date of landing, was dealt with in the *EDINBURGH REVIEW* for April 1917. It is impossible to pass by the subsequent vacillation of the Government and the apparent want of co-ordination in their councils. No one who studies the Report of the Commission, over which Lord Cromer presided, can doubt that Sir Ian Hamilton entered upon that tragic but gallant episode under almost overwhelming difficulties. He was appointed to the command after the objective of the Allies had been given away by the premature attack of the navy; his sphere of action was circumscribed because he was not allowed to attack in Asia; at the same time owing to the conditions existing in France he was urged to carry the position by a *coup de main* and not to contemplate a prolonged campaign. None the less, he was adjured by Lord Kitchener that having landed there could be no turning back; his force had got to go through.

Probably no commander ever entered on an expedition with the dice so loaded against him. Sir Ian Hamilton has been the subject of much criticism from very varying standpoints. There are those who hold that seeing the difficulties in front of him he never ought to have landed at all. Had he refused to do so he would have been able to quote in his support the opinion of

* The figures for 1904 and 1905 show an average of £2,116,000; those for 1912-1914 an average of £1,274,000.

General Broadwood, who had been present at the original bombardment of the forts by the navy, and General Hunter Weston, who addressed to him from Malta a strong memorandum demonstrating the impossibility of the enterprise. As both these Generals subsequently won for themselves an exceptional reputation as successful commanders and hard fighters, the value of their opinions would be as generally recognised now as it was by Sir Ian Hamilton at the time. Again, the fact that the General Staff could give the general no help was against a landing; there was no scheme for attacking the Gallipoli peninsula; there were no maps; there was no knowledge of the sources of water; there was not, and could hardly be, any estimate of the then condition of the Turkish troops, seeing that they were being largely reinforced from day to day. Moreover, the belief of high authorities in London as to the effect to be produced by ships' guns on the shore batteries was at the outset found by those on the spot to be unduly favourable. Under these circumstances those who hold that Sir Ian Hamilton took an undue risk by putting all to the hazard of a landing must call to account the Ministry who with such divided councils took the plunge and the Secretary of State who stimulated a soldier remarkable for optimism and daring by telling him that 'if he took Constantinople he would also win the war.'

As was said above any narrative of military events by those who were the principal actors in them must necessarily be partial. This consideration must be regarded as paramount in any estimate of the 'Gallipoli Diary.' Lord Kitchener was at the centre doling out a trickling stream of life-blood to two theatres of war, whose claims were mutually destructive. For a fair estimate of his position we must read side by side with 'The Diary' Lord French's account of 1914 and 1915. There is no doubt that Sir Ian Hamilton, considering the strength of the Turks, the difficulty of his situation on the Gallipoli peninsula, his distance from home and his daily dependence on a most difficult landing for supplies, munitions, and even for water, was kept lamentably short of even ordinary needs, apart from reserves, during the fateful months of the summer of 1915.

On the other hand, we now realise that never, until the Americans landed their partially trained force in great numbers, were the Allies on the Western Front equal at all points to the

Germans. From October 1914 to a date long after the Dardanelles Expedition had landed, our troops on the Western Front were literally fighting heavy guns with rifles and bayonets. The German bombardment, which was causing a daily shrinkage of our attenuated forces during the winter 1914-15, could only be met by four or five rounds a day from each of the relatively few guns we possessed, because ammunition had to be saved for the next attack. If anything could have caused a mutiny in France it would have been the knowledge that Lord Kitchener had had to withdraw gun ammunition actually landed at Boulogne and transmit it to the Dardanelles. The struggle for men was hardly less keen. When the 29th Division went to the Dardanelles the New Army was not yet ready, and the great reinforcements sent to Sir John French arrived weeks later. It is only those who visualise the feelings of officers forced in consequence to make a heavier call on their war-worn troops who can realise what the pressure was on Lord Kitchener at the time when the 'Gallipoli Diary' represents him as leaving without adequate support one of the bravest forces which ever attempted an apparently hopeless task under the vilest conditions of military life. Indeed, if Lord Kitchener had been an ordinary civilian Secretary of State the amount of subterranean popular feeling which would have been stirred up by these recriminations from the front would, if it had not cost him his place, probably have destroyed his future usefulness in his office.

No one who considers these facts can doubt that after all allowance has been made for difficulties on both sides, the Dardanelles Expedition was launched with insufficient consideration. The process by which the Navy attacked first and the Army was thrown in by detachments later was a faulty one; through want of full understanding of the problem a great number of valuable lives were sacrificed and an immense amount of suffering inflicted, and nothing but good leading on the part of a number of generals on the spot, and the extraordinary pluck of the rank and file saved the expedition from complete disaster. In whatever straits the British Empire may find itself, such a division of limited forces with insufficient supplies between two distinct objectives ought never to be repeated.

In appointing Lord Kitchener to the War Office in August

1914 the Government took the best possible step towards retrieving past blunders. As pointed out above, they had proposed to make war on the Continent under limited liability, and had made no preparation whatever for supplementing the original Expeditionary Force. The War Office was at the time in commission, the Prime Minister, after the 'Ulster debacle' in April 1914, being nominally in command. Nine years of office, more than enough to wear out most Governments, had certainly not increased the prestige of individual Ministers. Lord Kitchener had a character, a personality, and a record of successful achievement which made the country willing to follow him in whatever he proposed. His conception of the political as well as the military position was remarkably sound; he was, as no British subject has been in living memory, the one man and the only man on whom complete reliance would be placed by the public in any military emergency. Yet the very qualities which installed him as an autocrat were to a large extent contributory to the situation which produced the failure in the Dardanelles.

The early life of Lord Kitchener, as Sir George Arthur has well shown, had been devoted in one position after another to making good by personal energy situations which others had found impossible. So long as he was dealing with subject races his power of driving subordinates and of throwing himself on to the point when things were going wrong, even if with scanty communication it happened to be many days distant, had stood him in good stead. The final advance on Omdurman, calculated to a nicety under his personal supervision, was perhaps the crowning episode in his strictly military career. In South Africa, as chief of the staff to Lord Roberts, he learned from that great master of the art of dealing with men how much the *suaviter in modo* can be made to supplement the *fortiter in re*, and when he came to the chief command his untiring resourcefulness in dealing with a most difficult guerilla campaign on a gigantic scale was not less remarkable than his judgment with regard to those who served him. It was remarked to the writer on one occasion by the Judge-Advocate-General of the day that in the many tangled questions of military conduct which arose in the numerous court-martial proceedings of the Boer War, Lord Kitchener's advice was usually sounder than that of

either Lord Wolseley or Lord Roberts. One lesson however he never learned, even when his experience gained in the Soudan had been increased twentyfold by the South African War, and after seven years of the chief command in India had intervened. He could not delegate to others, and he had no confidence in any work done except by himself. To this administrative shortcoming must be added, what even his most intimate admirers would probably admit to be a fact, that he trusted no man's opinion but his own.

The bearing of these points in Lord Kitchener's character on events which followed his installation in the War Office in August 1914 was speedily shown. When men rushed to the standard of his new army so that every dépôt and establishment were flooded he proposed to handle the first two hundred thousand himself, and called an expert committee together to run the next two hundred thousand through the Territorial organisation, which was ready to hand. Within a week, after all the arrangements had been made, and the men, who were pouring in, were being successfully dealt with, he cancelled the committee and formed fresh divisions of his own. The consequence was that thousands of men were left stranded for some days, and what was far worse, the Territorial Force was left without reserves at a most critical time. Lord Kitchener, who had never spent anything but a holiday in England for forty years, knew nothing of the Territorial Force; it is doubtful if he had even seen a Territorial battalion, and he could not be got to realise that by pushing forward its equipment and throwing a portion of it into the fighting line, which Sir John French, who knew the Force as Inspector-General for five years, desired, he might have modified the terrible strain of October and November 1914. After the great break of 31st October some brigades were sent out; but seeing that Lord Kitchener was not prepared to ship the New Army till the following May, had he built more on the Territorial Force, he could have had at least a hundred thousand troops in the field many weeks earlier. This is material, for in October and November 1914 the fate of Calais might have been decided either way by an extra twenty thousand men. There can be no reasonable doubt that any civilian Secretary of State would have taken the current military view of the value of the Territorial Force and

the proper method of quickening its reliability for service. Lord Kitchener kept both in his own hands.

Again, the Intelligence Department of the British Army, which had been a plant of slow growth from 1885, and which had been regarded as a 'side show' by the older class of soldiers, had made immense strides under Sir Henry Brackenbury and Lord Nicholson; but apparently, the contingency of Great Britain being at war all over the world had not been grappled with. Probably no Chancellor of the Exchequer would have voted a farthing for the General Staff on such an assumption. Consequently, the work which became a flood at the moment we went to war was bound to tax the General Staff to the uttermost, more especially as many of the more competent officers had had to go to the front. The chief of the General Staff, Sir Charles Douglas, died soon after the war commenced. He was tardily replaced. Lord Kitchener gathered the work into his own hand, and during his eighteen months' tenure of the War Office appointed successively three officers of distinction, none of whom had time to get in touch with the work. As a result, as mentioned above, there were no plans of any description for the landing at the Dardanelles, and when the question of Salonika arose in October 1915 matters were equally backward, though the possibility of operations there had been for some time foreseen. Indeed, but for the action of two or three members of the Cabinet, whose services to the public cannot be over-estimated, the expedition would have been sent up country without any military plan whatever, since there were no data on which to base it. On no conceivable theory could it be right that the staff work of the army should have been concentrated in a man whose master mind and energy were already taxed at every moment of the day and night.

These considerations are still more telling when we reflect on the position which Lord Kitchener unconsciously assumed or which was thrust upon him by his position as a Field-Marshal, namely, that of being Commander-in-Chief as well as Secretary of State. It would be unprofitable here to discuss the controversy which has arisen between the two field-m Marshals with regard to the events which took place in France on Lord Kitchener's memorable visit during the retreat from Mons. No one who reads Sir Ian Hamilton's book, and who notes the *ipsissima verba*

of Lord Kitchener, can doubt that he regarded himself, and that his generals regarded him, as in a wholly different position from any civilian Secretary of State. In every previous war, though the Secretary of State was the mouthpiece of the Cabinet which in an emergency can make any appointment, the Commander-in-Chief recommended officers to the Secretary of State. Throughout his period at the War Office Lord Kitchener nominated every officer to a command himself. His telegrams are full of 'I will send you' so and so.* On the 1st January 1915 he published the names of five commanders of the new armies, and proposed to send them abroad without consulting the field-marshal commanding in the field as to whether any one of them would be acceptable to serve under him. Similarly, in the Dardanelles, Lord Kitchener may have had excellent reasons for appointing General Braithwaite chief of the Staff, but it was almost unknown, and a wholly undesirable innovation, for a commander-in-chief of the expedition not to be consulted as to the officer on whose co-operation he must mainly depend. A more fertile source of dissension cannot be imagined, and it is astonishing that Lord Kitchener did not remember the treatment meted out to him in this respect when in command himself.

Again, the much canvassed appointments of General Stopford and General Mahon, on which so much hung in the enterprise, are astonishing reading. The Cabinet was staking everything on the success at Suvla; they were depriving France of much needed troops and Lord French of munitions which could not be spared; yet a division was sent to Gallipoli with an officer in command of it whose rank was such that he must either take command of the whole corps, for which his eligibility was questioned, or have appointed as senior to him one of two available officers both of whom by reasons of health and deficiency of recent military experience it was undesirable to send. After the Suvla catastrophe it was found possible to make available younger officers of recent experience in France by whom the catastrophe might have been obviated. Be it

* His reply to General Braithwaite's very reasonable demand for a contingent of up-to-date aeroplanes, as related by Sir Ian Hamilton, 'Not one,' is so inconceivable that it could only be ascribed to worry and overwork—but no appeal was possible.

remembered that from these decisions of Lord Kitchener there could be no appeal, and indeed, the Government had no means of knowing what was actually felt by the commanders at the front except through him. As the Dardanelles Commission Report points out, he was the sole military adviser of the Government.

‘ Lord Kitchener had entire control of military matters, and was for a long time the sole mouthpiece of War Office opinion in the War Council, in the Dardanelles Committee which replaced the War Council in May, in the War Committee which was substituted for the Dardanelles Committee in November 1915, and in the Cabinet. He held a strong opinion as to the necessity of secrecy in military matters, and seldom communicated his intentions or his reasons for action to anyone.’

The question of correspondence with the generals at the front was also greatly affected by Lord Kitchener's position. In previous wars there was a continuous private correspondence between the Secretary of State and the generals at the front, who also wrote fully to the commander-in-chief at home. No man had availed himself more usefully of these opportunities than Lord Kitchener himself when in command abroad. Any doubts he had as to his generals or any difficulties in regard to supplies or reinforcements on which he did not wish to make a formal protest were dealt with by private correspondence. In return, Sir George Arthur has made it clear in ‘ Lord Kitchener's ‘ Life ’ how constantly those at home endeavoured to soften down difficulties in his campaigns by private explanations which would have been out of place in official telegrams. In the case of the Dardanelles nothing of the kind took place. Private letters from Lord Kitchener setting forth his difficulties as to munitions and reinforcements would have gone far to carry the Dardanelles staff through the dreary months of waiting and appeal which are depicted so touchingly in Sir Ian Hamilton's narrative. They would have also brought the authorities at home into partnership with the commanders in the fateful decisions made at Imbros. There is too much of the ‘ Take it or ‘ leave it ’ in the London telegrams, and of the consequent ‘ You ‘ are asking me to make bricks without straw ’ in the replies, to be pleasant reading.

Three years ago it was pointed out in this REVIEW that the

fears of interference from home aroused by Lord Panmure's abuse of the telegraph in sending instructions to Lord Raglan in the Crimea had been set at rest by the experience of Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener in the South African War ; but the number of instances in these pages in which the telegraphic messages do not disclose the whole mind of the sender is a very grave feature. So early as April it was known in some quarters that the Cabinet were not really aware of what Sir Ian Hamilton and his generals felt. The comparison of the 'Diary' with statements made in Parliament at the time is disturbing. All soldiers are averse from harping too much on their difficulties, and in this case it is clear that Sir Ian Hamilton had a genuine fear that if he did so the expedition might be withdrawn. Had the Cabinet realised that the frank private communications, which had played so great a part in the South African and other wars, had been suspended in this war, they would no doubt earlier have insisted on the establishment of some liaison officer who could ascertain *viva voce* what those concerned did not care to put on paper. The Cabinet finally sent out Sir Maurice Hankey in August, and from that date there was a much clearer understanding of the situation between the parties.

It is not very helpful now the event is over to discuss the whole Dardanelles question from an ideal standpoint. It would have been well, no doubt, if the whole military and naval knowledge available at Whitehall had been concentrated on the question of a landing—say, from the beginning of January 1915—and all the arrangements had been made for a sudden master-stroke. It might further be urged that such an expedition to be successful at all must be in the hands of first-class troops with the very best commanders and should not have been attempted until they were available. But it is easy to be wise after the event. The Defence Committee in 1906 turned down the forcing of the Dardanelles by the navy as too costly ; but the stake was a great one, and the navy, after six months of hardly borne defensive, were eager for the attempt. The forlorn hope has often been the antidote to the stricken field.

The legitimate indictment to levy against the Government is not that they tried to relieve the 'stalemate' in France by an epoch-making change of venue ; resource and imagination are the essence of military success. But the cost must be

counted and the risk must be backed. The Cabinet did neither ; they had not the means to go on or the nerve to pull off. Mr. Churchill and Lord Kitchener were at variance ; no co-ordinating authority was set up. Probably no member of the Cabinet knew of Lord Kitchener's words to Sir Ian Hamilton—'Once 'landed the Government are resolved to see the enterprise 'through'—or that he had expressed a doubt whether he would send Lord French the new army at all. The telegram of 20th March 1915 is conclusive: 'You know my views that the 'Dardanelles passage must be forced, and that if large military 'operations on the Gallipoli peninsula by your troops are 'necessary to clear the way, these operations must be under- 'taken after careful consideration of the local defences and must 'be carried through.' Yet these successive injunctions reacted on Sir Ian Hamilton. If there was any disposition on the part of the Gallipoli force to visit the almost reckless attacks to which they were led on their commander and his staff, the publication of these instructions would have placed the losses on other shoulders.

An impartial view of all these events leads to the irresistible conclusion that the attempt to govern military events from home was faulty and that there was a lack of cohesion and confidence which would have jeopardised any expedition. Lord Kitchener, after six months' exhausting work, which had told on his iron frame and mind, issued orders which he could not make good without robbing Lord French. The Cabinet knew nothing of these orders, and had no full knowledge of the position at the front. When, after the Coalition was formed in 1915, they took a hand and gave the great reinforcements which were used at Suvla, they were checkmated by the choice of generals made and by Sir Ian Hamilton's undue compliance with selections which he did not approve. Unluckily, like Sir Redvers Buller at Spion Kop, he hesitated at the last moment to take matters into his own hands as army commanders had done on countless occasions in France.

Out of all this emerges clear guidance for the future on one point. The cult of 'supermen' can be carried too far, and if these islands ever produce another man with Lord Kitchener's powers, he can be used to best advantage by being confined within the limits of human energy.

MIDDLETON.

WAR AND POPULATION

1. **Problems of Population and Parenthood.** Second Report of and the Chief Evidence taken by the National Birth-Rate Commission, 1918-20. Chapman & Hall. 1920.
2. **The Population Problem in India.** By P. K. WATTAL. Bombay: Bennett, Coleman. 1916.
3. **Outspoken Essays.** By W. R. INGE, Dean of St. Paul's. Longmans, Green. 1919.

○F all the tragedies of the Great War perhaps the most tragic is the way in which the majority of people seem already to have forgotten what they or others suffered. During the war there were few people who were not filled with sorrow at the daily tale of suffering and death; there were few who did not try to comfort themselves with the thought that the greatest war the world had yet known was being fought to end all war. Yet though the Great War is already being followed by a multitude of little wars, the very people who a few years back were horror-struck at the wickedness of all war are now carelessly indifferent to the horrors in progress, and to the worse horrors that may be in prospect. It is true that a League of Nations has been formally constituted for the express purpose of preventing all war; but it is also true that the League has no power of any kind to prevent even the smallest war. The League does indeed possess a paid secretariat, appointed for five years, but it has neither military nor naval forces and does not own even a single aeroplane. Moreover, such moral force as the League of Nations might conceivably have possessed has been lost to it by the refusal of the United States to accept any responsibility for its proceedings. The League may represent a worthy ideal, but it has neither physical nor moral force behind it, and therefore is useless as an agency for preventing war.

A wider question has to be considered. Is it possible by any means whatsoever to create any agency capable of preventing war as long as the main causes of war continue? If a similar question were put with regard to some problem of

bodily health there would be little doubt about the general character of the answer. The quack medicine vendor might, it is true, answer, 'Buy my pills and they will cure all your 'diseases.' But the only answer coming from a serious physician would be, 'I cannot make you well except by removing the 'cause of your illness.' It is not unreasonable to argue that the same consideration applies to the disease of intermittent war from which the world has suffered for unnumbered centuries and is still suffering. No international councils, or leagues of peace, or religious liturgies, will get rid of that disease as long as the causes of it remain.

What then are the causes of war? Superficially, there are several. Dynastic ambition, religious intolerance, national pride, racial antipathy—all these may be regarded as primary forces in themselves provocative of war. But the first named has already passed out of date; the second is passing. Even in Ireland, where religious differences constitute the principal dividing line, there are forces at work which ignore that line. The Bolshevik element in the Sinn Fein movement appears to direct its attacks indiscriminately against Catholics and Protestants; while it is certain that Catholicism alone would not be a sufficient driving force for the Irish revolutionary movement. In India religious divisions still remain deeply marked, and occasionally lead in limited areas to fierce fighting between Hindoos and Mahommedans. But it is hard to imagine in any part of the world to-day any far-extending war waged purely for the purpose of killing persons of another creed. Religious wars seem indeed to have been a more or less temporary expression of human savagery, and in many cases, as for example in the case of Jewish pogroms, they have had an economic as well as a religious origin.

When we come to national pride and racial antipathy we reach an altogether different type of motive. By itself national pride is not necessarily provocative of war. It can be as well expressed on the football field as on the battlefield. The latter is only preferred when the rival nations have something solid to fight over. In the same way, racial antipathy by itself could hardly ever be a cause of war. To begin with, it cannot be experienced at all unless members of antipathetic races are brought into close proximity, and this cannot happen on any

extensive scale except as the result of economic forces. Nor will the antipathy even then give rise to serious fighting unless there is a real economic rivalry to accentuate differences of colour or speech. It is the competition of nations for the good places of the earth that converts national pride into a cause of war; it is the competition of races for profitable employment that turns racial antipathy into racial conflict. No doubt the economic motive is not everything in the life of men or of nations, but there can be no disputing the general proposition that of all the causes of war economic rivalry is the most important.

That Germany's desire for economic expansion was the dominant cause of the war which began in 1914 is a fact with which everyone is familiar. But it is worth while to set out a few of the frank statements made by German writers with regard to the economic necessity for war. A number of such statements are to be found in a very useful pamphlet issued at Washington in 1918 by the Committee on Public Information with the title 'Conquest and Kultur: Aims of the Germans in 'their own Words.' One of the most striking of these statements appears in a book published as far back as 1901—'Deutschland auf den Hochstrassen des Weltwirtschaftsverkehrs,' by Arthur Dix:—

'Because the German people nowadays increase at the rate of 800,000 inhabitants a year they need both room and nourishment for the surplus. . . . The rapid growth of the German people must continue to give it room, light, and air. As a world power in the world market we must assert our place and make it secure in order that the younger hands may find room and opportunity for employment.'

In the same year another German writer, Albrecht Wirth, in a book entitled 'Volkstum und Weltmacht in der Geschichte,' wrote:—

'In order to live and to lead a healthy and joyous life we need a vast extent of fresh arable land. This is what imperialism must give us.'

Ten years later, in 1911, Tannenberg wrote in his 'Gross-Deutschland: die Arbeit des 20ten Jahrhunderts':—

'In the good old times it happened that a strong people thrust a weak one out of its ancestral abode by wars of extermination. To-day such deeds of violence no longer occur. To-day everything goes on

peaceably on this wretched earth, and it is those who have profited who are for peace. . . . Room, they must make room. 'The western and southern Slavs—or we! Since we are the stronger the choice will not be difficult.'

In the same year, 1911, Daniel Frymann in 'Wenn ich der 'Kaiser wäre,' a book which had an immense circulation in Germany, wrote:—

'It is no longer proper to say, "Germany is satisfied." Our historical development and our economic needs show that we are once more hungry for territory.'

But perhaps the clearest statement of all was that made by von Bernhardi. In his 'Germany and the Next War,' which was first published in 1911, he wrote:—

'Strong, healthy, and flourishing nations increase in numbers. From a given moment they require a continual expansion of their frontiers, they require new territory for the accommodation of their surplus population. Since almost every part of the globe is inhabited, new territory must, as a rule, be obtained at the cost of its possessors—that is to say, by conquest, which thus becomes a law of necessity.'

However strongly we may condemn the conduct of the nation which was responsible for the horrors through which the world has passed we cannot dismiss the above statements as being merely the expressions of a peculiar German mentality. Their brutal crudity may perhaps be peculiarly German, but the truth they express is universal and eternal. The same truth—that the growth of population with the resulting desire for economic expansion is a necessary cause of war—was plainly stated four hundred years ago by a world-famous Englishman, whom no one could accuse of cynicism. Sir Thomas More, in describing the conditions of life of that perfect community which he pictured living upon the island of Utopia, tells how arrangements were made for distributing children among different households and distributing population among different cities, so that 'the prescript number of the citezens shoulde neither 'decrease nor above measure increase.' He goes on to add:—

'But if so be that the multitude throughout the whole lande passe and excede the dewe number, then they chuse out of every citie certein citezens, and build up a towne under their owne lawes in the next land where the inhabitauntes have muche waste and unoccupied ground, receaving also of the same countrey people to them, if they wil joyne and dwel with them. They thus joyning and dwelling together

do easelye agre in one fassion of living, and that to the great wealth of both the peoples. For they so bringe the matter about by theire lawes, that the ground which before was neither good nor profitable for the one nor for the other, is nowe sufficiente and fruteful enoughe for them both. But if the inhabitauntes of that lande wyl not dwell with them to be ordered by their lawes then they dryve them out of those boundes which they have limited, and apointed out for them selves. And if they resiste and rebel, then they make warre agaynst them. For they count this the moste juste cause of warre, when anye people holdethe a piece of grounde voyde and vacaunt to no good nor profitable use, keepyng other from the use and possession of it.'

It will be observed that Sir Thomas More assumes in order to justify the Utopians that the piece of ground which they wanted was wantonly kept 'voyde and vacaunt' by the inhabitants. But their obvious answer would be that they looked upon this ground as the reserve for their own expansion. Sir Thomas More wrote indeed at a time when the world was very empty as compared with its present condition. There were vast areas of unpeopled territory, and even in settled countries which might have been called populous according to the standard of the period, the cultivated area was a small fraction of the whole. It was consequently possible for invading Utopians to argue that by more extensive, or by more intensive, cultivation they could make the land sufficient for both, and that therefore they were morally justified in annexing the territory of another people.

A similar justification could be formulated for the wars of extermination which European invaders waged in North America and elsewhere for many generations against the indigenous races whom they found in possession of the land. It involves some strain upon language to use the word 'moral' in such a connexion. In reality the European invasions of North America, South America, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and the rest, were not the outcome of any motive which could be called moral. They were only particular expressions of movements which have been in operation since the world began. Each race as it grows in numbers finds increasing need of elbow-room, and it seeks that room by invading any other territory that is attractive to it, either on account of its proximity or on account of its richness, or on account of the incapacity of its inhabitants to defend themselves effectively. This is a never-

ceasing expression of man's nature, but there is nothing ideally moral about it, even though the Utopians did it.

Most invading races do not even trouble to pretend that they have a high moral purpose, and certainly no race in possession of territory would ever admit that it could justly be expelled to make room for the expansion of another race. In Australia to-day there is a very considerable amount of 'voyde and 'vacaunt' ground which may fairly be said to be held to 'no 'good nor profitable use.' Yet the present descendants of the European invaders of Australia would fight to the death rather than surrender their territory to a new race of invaders from Japan. The issue will be decided by the urgency of the Japanese need for more elbow-room and by the power of the Australians to resist invasion. If the Australians, backed by the Mother Country, show themselves too strong to be attacked, the Japanese will seek expansion in some other direction. But that only shifts the locality of the problem. And the same problem in greater or less intensity is present in most parts of the world; its intensity must grow greater as rival populations increase.

The direct connexion between war and population is not denied by the advocates of a high birth-rate; on the contrary, they use it as an argument for their cause. For example, the voluntary group of inquirers into problems of population, known as the National Birth-Rate Commission, in their second Report ask (p. lxxiii):—

'In the event of a war similar to that which we have just experienced, what would happen to us with a greatly reduced birth-rate? Surely all we have would be taken, and we must become slaves—as we should be to-day if we had entered on the struggle with Germany without adequate man-power. Moreover, what would happen to our Empire?'

This can only mean that we are to breed children as a protection against the dangers of war. But if that advice is good for the people of Great Britain, it is equally good for the peoples of other countries, and the more fully the advice is followed the more frequent must be the racial struggles for room to live.

Even if it could be shown that at the present moment there was room enough in the world for all nations, provided none were grasping, that would only mean a postponement of the issue. We have to deal not only with actual but also with

potential populations, and if each race uses even to a moderate extent its inherent power of expansion, in the very near future there will not be room for all. This aspect of the problem seems entirely to have escaped the attention of the National Birth-Rate Commission. That body, as its self-chosen name implies, was primarily concerned with the birth-rate, that is to say with the ratio between the number of babies born each year and the number of persons living in that year. The Commission was originally constituted in the autumn of 1913, and during the first portion of its career was presided over by Dr. Inge, the Dean of St. Paul's. It collected a great deal of most useful evidence from a variety of persons and published its first Report in 1916. Several members, including Dean Inge, then retired from the Commission, but it was reconstituted under the presidency of the Bishop of Birmingham in 1918, and published a second Report in May 1920. A very considerable proportion of the members of the Commission were clergymen of various denominations and another large proportion consisted of medical men.

The first Report was carefully examined in the EDINBURGH REVIEW for April 1918 by Mr. J. O. P. Bland. Its conclusions were more or less vaguely endorsed in the second Report, which also contains a variety of useful evidence from different witnesses. In both cases the majority of the members seem to have convinced themselves that a declining birth-rate was necessarily an evil thing. This was not the view of Dean Inge, as he has made sufficiently clear in his articles in the EDINBURGH REVIEW in 1917 and in 1919, articles which have since been republished in a striking collection of his writings well named 'Outspoken Essays.' The Bishop of Birmingham also expressed on the problem of birth control a view differing widely from that taken by other prominent members of the Church of England and by the general body of the Church of Rome.

In reaching the conclusion that the decline in the birth-rate is a fact to be deplored, the majority of the members of this Commission seem tacitly to have assumed that a declining birth-rate necessarily means a declining population. Many of their arguments indeed palpably turn on that assumption. But a declining birth-rate by itself proves nothing. In the first place a decline in the rate at which children are born may be

counterbalanced by a decline in the rate at which they die. Throughout the world, low birth-rates are in fact accompanied by high survival rates.

Even more important is the consideration that the effect of a declining birth-rate can only be measured when we know to what volume of population the rate is applied. A high rate on a small volume may give a smaller increment than a lower rate on a larger volume. In business affairs this arithmetical truism is obvious to everybody. Six per cent. on a capital of £1500 gives a smaller income than 5 per cent. on a capital of £2000. Why so many members of the National Birth-Rate Commission should have ignored this truism when dealing with the problem which they were gathered together to study it is impossible to explain, except upon the hypothesis that these members started the inquiry with an unshakeable conviction—religious or professional—that a high birth-rate is a thing to be desired for its own sake. As a matter of fact the decline in the birth-rate in England and Wales, which has been in progress since 1876, was accompanied down to the date of the last census by a progressively rapid expansion of that population. The figures are so striking that they are worth reproducing in detail.*

POPULATION OF ENGLAND AND WALES.

Date.	Population.	Increase Over Previous Census.
1851	17,928,000	2,013,000
1861	20,066,000	2,139,000
1871	22,712,000	2,646,000
1881	25,974,000	3,262,000
1891	29,003,000	3,028,000
1901	32,528,000	3,525,000
1911	36,070,000	3,543,000

It will be observed that in the ten years ending 1911 the population of England and Wales increased more rapidly than in any previous decade.

* See Census of England and Wales, 1911. Cd. 7929. Odd hundreds are omitted from the figures for the sake of clarity.

If we look back to an earlier century these figures become even more startling. No official census was taken before the year 1801, but various rough estimates have been made of our population at previous periods. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the population of England and Wales was roughly estimated at 6,045,000; at the census of 1801 the recorded population was 8,893,000, showing an increase of roughly $2\frac{3}{4}$ millions in one hundred years. In the twentieth century there was an increase of roughly $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions in ten years. *Never before in all our history has our population increased so rapidly as in the first ten years of the present century.* And this is what the devotees of a high birth-rate call 'race suicide.'

Looking again at the above table it will be observed that the population of England and Wales was just under 18,000,000 at the census of 1851, and just over 36,000,000 in 1911; it had doubled in sixty years. Suppose that rate of increase—which is apparently regarded as inadequate by the members of the Birth-Rate Commission—were to continue, and that our population were to double every sixty years. The result would be that in something less than 360 years the population of England and Wales would have reached the almost inconceivable figure of 2,304,000,000, or five hundred millions more than the present population of the whole globe. Yet 360 years is but a small span in the life of the world or of a great nation; in our own national life it just bridges the gap which separates King Edward VI. from King Edward VII.

The above calculations are based on figures carried down to the year 1911. But in view of all the recent outcry about race suicide it is worth while to inquire whether later figures suggest any contrary inference. The only figures available are those contained in the quarterly returns of the Registrar-General. These show that in each year since the last census there has been a substantial excess of births over deaths. The figures are as follows:—

EXCESS OF BIRTHS OVER DEATHS IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

1912	-	-	385,798	1916	-	-	277,303
1913	-	-	376,915	1917	-	-	169,424
1914	-	-	362,354	1918	-	-	50,782
1915	-	-	252,361	1919	-	-	188,426

It will be noticed that in 1917 and still more in 1918 the excess of births over deaths was very greatly reduced as compared with pre-war figures. The reduction is not surprising in view of the fact that several millions of potential fathers were absent from the kingdom. But even under these circumstances our population was continuing to expand. Even the low increase of about 50,000 recorded in 1918 represents very nearly double the average annual increase throughout the eighteenth century. Thus, right down to the end of 1919, our population was not only expanding, but expanding at a very rapid rate as compared with previous centuries.

In the first quarter of the present year—perhaps partly as the result of the increased grant payable to a demobilised soldier for every child born within nine months of his discharge—the birth-rate took a sudden leap upwards and reached ‘the highest number recorded in any quarter since the establishment of civil registration’* The actual increase of population in England and Wales, by excess of births over deaths, in the three months ending 31st March 1920, was 133,445. If the same quarterly rate of increase were to continue we should add another five millions to our population in less than ten years.

Thus, so far as all records go, the use of the phrase ‘race suicide’ is absolutely without warrant. The birth-rate throughout Great Britain has undoubtedly been declining for more than a generation, but the figures clearly show that in spite of that decline in the birth-rate the volume of our population continues to grow. Nor can we escape from the consequent overcrowding of our little island by trusting to emigration. It certainly would be well if a large part of the present population of England, and part also of the population of Scotland, could be shifted to the unpeopled areas of Australia and Canada. But the people whom we could most readily spare are the most reluctant to go, and would be the least welcomed on the other side. Moreover, unless emigration is on a wholesale scale—not thousands but many hundreds of thousands per annum—it can make no impression on our ever-expanding home population.

It may however fairly be argued that if present tendencies or pre-war tendencies are maintained, the time may come when

* Quarterly Return of the Registrar-General, No. 285.

the birth-rate will fall so low as to be overtaken by the death-rate and then a real decline of the population will begin. That is indisputable, but it does not follow that anything in the nature of race suicide will take place. A race does not necessarily die because it ceases to expand numerically. At many periods in our history our population has been stationary or even declining, but it has never shown any sign of extinction, and during some of the periods when its numerical expansion was *nil* or insignificant it has given most striking proofs of power and vitality. There is no prouder period in our history than the reign of Queen Elizabeth, yet the whole population of England then was not much more than, if so much as, a tenth of what it is to-day. Nor was our population then small only as judged by modern standards; it was also small in comparison with the contemporary populations of neighbouring countries.

If mere numbers settled wars, the English race would long since have been wiped out by the French. Our wars with France are now—as all Englishmen and Frenchmen alike hope—for ever ended, but they lasted for many centuries, and during all these centuries there was an enormous balance of numbers on the French side. Take only the wars of the eighteenth century, the wars in which we built up a great part of our present colonial empire. During that century, though all the British Isles were under one sovereign, practically the whole burden of foreign war fell on England alone. Ireland and Scotland were indeed rather a weakness than a strength to the kingdom. Not only had Ireland—then enjoying a Parliament of her own—to be garrisoned by English troops, but Irish troops were constantly to be found serving under the French flag. At the battle of Fontenoy, in 1745, it was the Irish brigade under French leadership that turned the day and secured the defeat of the English. In the same year Prince Charles led an army of Highlanders through the heart of England and put London in a panic. Therefore it is the population of England alone that must be taken into account in measuring the forces that the British Crown could bring to bear against France in the eighteenth-century struggle. In the middle of that century the population of England was only one-third of the population of France; yet England won.

It does not of course follow that the factor of numbers can

be altogether ignored. Other things being equal, numbers will tell. But other things rarely are equal. The population of England for the greater part of the eighteenth century was in the main fairly well-fed and fairly prosperous; but the population of France was then largely composed of a poverty-stricken peasantry.

Mental qualities must also be taken into account in measuring racial strength. There is no doubt that the Germans are mentally superior to the Russians, and if Germany had been engaged in war with Russia alone in 1914 she would certainly have been victorious even without the aid of Austria. But where nations have reached approximate equality of racial efficiency, as the nations of western Europe have done, numbers will doubtless be the determining factor. It is on this military consideration that stress is laid by the advocates of a high birth-rate. In the passage above quoted the members of the National Birth-Rate Commission say that we should have been enslaved 'if we had entered on the struggle with Germany without adequate man-power.' But the population of England and Scotland together—Ireland is best left out of the calculation—before the war was barely two-thirds of that of Germany. Even when the white population of the Dominions is added there remains a balance in Germany's favour. We were able to defeat the Germans, not by the strength of our own population alone, but by the fact that Great Britain was fighting in alliance with other countries who were equally or even more threatened by the expansion of the German population. The same consideration applies to our French allies. They too are being urged to-day to increase their birth-rate as a defence against the German peril. But the advice is futile. It ignores the fact that Germany, starting with a larger population, must win in any cradle competition either with France alone or with Great Britain alone. Take, for example, a moderately high birth-rate of 32 per thousand. On the German population that would give roughly 2,000,000 births per annum; on the population of Great Britain about 1,300,000; and on the population of France about 1,200,000. And the higher the birth-rate the greater would be the numerical balance in Germany's favour as against either of her opponents. A more futile suggestion for meeting the German peril it is hard to imagine.

Moreover, this scheme which the devotees of a high birth-rate inferentially advocate must itself provoke the danger of other wars, including wars with the very Allies by whose side we fought. France and England, threatened by a common peril, could join forces to meet it; but if both countries are to set to work to expand their respective populations as fast as possible they will become a danger to one another as well as to other nations. The figures given above of the potential expansion of the population of England and Wales indicate with sufficient clearness that if any one of the principal races exercised, even to a moderate extent, its inherent powers of expansion, in a very few generations there would be no room left in the world for any other race. Consequently if we are to preserve the possibility of obtaining allies to resist the peril from races expanding more rapidly than our own, we must ourselves abstain from a course of policy which would inevitably bring us into conflict with other races.

It may be argued in reply that if we were to adopt in this matter what might perhaps be called a self-denying ordinance, we should run the risk of seeing our race gradually submerged by more prolific races from other parts of the world. Clearly that danger is greatly lessened if the slow breeding races make it part of their national policy to combine for mutual aid. But the danger can also be lessened in another way. It can be lessened by inviting the whole world to follow the wise example set by the more prudent classes in the higher races of mankind.

At the present time the systematic and conscious restriction of the birth-rate in our own country is mainly confined to the middle and upper classes, and to well-to-do artisans. These classes are anxious to maintain a high standard of life, and they know that this is often impossible with large families. But why should the practice of birth limitation be virtually confined to these classes? The poorer the parents, the stronger are the reasons in favour of a small family. Among the poor each new baby means a diminishing capacity of the mother to look properly after her children; it means for the family more overcrowding and more under-feeding. How then does it happen that the poorest classes, who have the greatest motive for limiting their families, continue to maintain a high birth-rate, while other classes with less motive for birth restriction have

small families? The answer is that the knowledge of the means of birth control has never been popularised among the masses of the community. Indeed when the Neo-Malthusian propaganda began in this country about 1876 with the publication of the 'Fruits of Philosophy,' the late Mr. Bradlaugh and Mrs. Annie Besant were criminally prosecuted for the part they took in that publication. In America similar prosecutions have taken place down to a quite recent date. On the other hand, in Holland, societies engaged in making widely known the means of birth control are recognised by the Government as doing a useful service to the State.

In our own country the attitude of the general public towards the social and theological issues involved in the practice of birth control has changed very greatly in the last few decades. A generation ago the deliberate prevention of conception was regarded by apparently quite a considerable number of people as a thing essentially immoral. That view hardly finds any support to-day except among a certain number of medical men and clergymen, and their verbal opposition is largely discounted by the statistical fact that the birth-rate in the families of medical men and clergymen is lower than in the families of almost any other classes of the community. The Bishop of Birmingham, who presided over the second session of the National Birth-Rate Commission, has frankly dissociated himself from what may be called the theological view of the question.

'Morally as well as eugenically, it was right for people in certain circumstances to use harmless means to control the birth-rate. . . . It was immoral to avoid having children from selfish motives, but it was surely also immoral to have child after child under circumstances which, humanly speaking, were such as to render the proper upbringing of such children impossible' (*The Times*, 8th April 1919).

From the medical point of view one of the best contributions to the controversy is a pamphlet by Dr. Killick Millard, Medical Officer of Health for Leicester. He points out (p. 7) that 'the 'environment is bad where the families are largest, so that the 'worst and not the best chance is given for the children to grow 'up good and worthy citizens.' Later on, referring to the well-known fact that a high birth-rate is always accompanied by a high rate of infantile mortality, he says:—

'Where there is a "glut" of babies—to borrow an expression from

the fruit trade—infant life is held cheap. It is only as the supply becomes less plentiful that infant life, and with it maternity, begins to be appreciated by the nation at its true value.'

Of the attitude of the majority of women to this question there is no room for doubt. It is on the woman that the anxieties of gestation and the pains of parturition fall, and there are very few married women who wish to run the risk of these anxieties and pains for the sake of any theological dogma, or for the sake of the professional interests of the general practitioner. The present writer has been permitted to examine a large number of original letters from women of the working classes, addressed to the secretary of the Malthusian League,* asking for practical information as to the best means of preventing conception. They nearly all tell the same tale—husband and wife struggling hard with narrow means to keep a respectable home together, and the babies following one another so rapidly that the wife is unable to look after her home and children properly, or to regain real health. Here are a few extracts:—

'I am the wife of a labourer with five young children, the eldest being nine years of age and the youngest ten months. I had twins born in July 1912 and another born the next year in September, so I have three boys almost the one age. One I have buried would be seven years of age if he were now alive. The eldest being a girl and the youngest being a girl, I think I would like to finish having any more of them. . . . I am only thirty-one years of age and my husband twenty-nine.'

'I have two young babies, one year and five months and four months old, and I have not been able to nurse them owing to hemmeridge at confinement, and we can barely live at present, and I would be far better working, seeing I am only twenty-two, to keep the home together instead of living from hand to mouth.'

'I have only been married five years and have three very young children already. I don't wish to have any more untill the little one get a few years older for their sake as well as my own.'

To this brief selection from letters from married women may be added a few from men:—

'I am a labourer, aged thirty-seven, and have four children living. I have buried three.'

'We have five children, the eldest ten and the youngest three months, and it is necessary for my wife's health that we should have no

* 96 Victoria Street, Westminster.

more children if we are to bring up those we have in a decent manner. I am a joiner by trade and I find it as much as I can do to clothe and feed them as they ought to be without anything to spare.'

'We have two children at present, one eight months old and the other two years and two months. We are very anxious to limit our family, and not only us but a great many of our friends, but it is the getting the information as regards the methods that is the trouble.'

'I have a wife who suffers from consumption and we have one child nearly three years of age. My wife thinks she is pregnant again. We should be very thankful if you would forward us any advice as we have no desire to bring suffering children into the world.'

These extracts give a sufficiently vivid picture of the purely human side of the problem. Throughout the kingdom—except perhaps among the very dregs of the population where crude animal instincts are gratified without any thought of the consequences—men and women are anxious to limit their families for the sake of the mother's health and for the sake of the proper upbringing of the family. That desire is not opposed to, it is in strict accord with, the national interest and the interest of the whole world. It is emphatically not in the national interest that a large number of babies should be brought into the world to live a few months and then to die. Yet that is the invariable consequence of a high birth-rate.

In our own country the infantile death-rate has declined *pari passu* with the birth-rate. In other European countries the same connexion of cause and effect stands out clearly. When we get to the East the figures are appalling. Children are poured into the world in obedience either to religious dogma or to unreflecting instinct, and die like flies. In a very useful work on the population problem in India Mr. P. K. Wattal, Assistant Accountant-General, Bombay, gives striking figures showing the high birth-rates and high death-rates in the Indian population. He presses home the conclusion that the lower the race the greater the ensuing mortality.

'When Nature wants a school of fish she spawns a million. When she wants a few rabbits she produces large families at intervals of a few weeks of which perhaps 10 per cent. survive. To make certain of 100 Kaffirs she produces 200. This is Nature playing with life in her merciless manner where there is nobody to thwart her wishes. She plays similar havoc in India under very similar circumstances.'

The extraordinary fact is that a number of presumably humane Englishmen, such as the members of the National

Birth-Rate Commission, should deliberately aim at giving fuller play to the merciless methods of Nature. In calling for a higher birth-rate they are also calling for a higher death-rate. This statement may to the hasty reader sound unfair, but though the clergymen and social reformers and doctors who constituted the Birth-Rate Commission may have been unconscious of what they were doing, the statement is absolutely true. As was shown above, the present birth-rate of England and Wales, which the Commission condemns as inadequate, gives an increase of population which if continued for a few centuries would fill up the whole world with English people to the exclusion of all other races. That process would necessarily be accompanied by devastating wars in which race killed race in order to find room to live. Unless the ever-increasing streams of children which the Birth-Rate Commission calls for die in infancy, their ultimate fate must be starvation or death on the battlefield.

Sooner or later each race must choose between a limitation of the birth-rate or an expansion of the death-rate. The higher races of the world have already made their choice and the duty of these races now is to spread the wisdom they have learnt. So only is it possible to secure permanent peace for the world and a high standard of living for all mankind.

EDITOR.

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THE END OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Fünf Jahre in Türkei. By General LIMAN VON SANDERS. Berlin. 1920.

THE Turkish flag still floats over Constantinople, but only at half mast and for an Ottoman Empire that is dead.

Three and a half centuries ago when that Empire reached its apogee in the reign of Soliman the Magnificent, it covered the whole of South-Eastern Europe from Buda-Pesth and the frontiers of Poland far away to the north of the Danube and along the northern shores of the Black Sea to the Caucasus, the whole of Western Asia from the Caspian to the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, most of the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean, and even the coastlands of Northern Africa almost to the Straits of Gibraltar. Even fifty years ago, though it had been steadily pressed back and much diminished in Europe, it still reached to the Adriatic and the Danube, its Asiatic boundaries had but slightly receded, and in Africa it still exercised suzerain rights over Egypt and continued to rule absolutely over Tripoli. Within the last half century the process of disintegration proceeded more rapidly. The Berlin Congress of 1878 only delayed for a few years the creation of a big Bulgaria little smaller than that of San Stefano. Greece entered into possession of Thessaly and Southern Epirus. Servia, Montenegro, and Rumania obtained minor

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cessions of territory and the recognition of their full independence. The Austrian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was the prelude to the complete loss of those provinces. The British occupation of Cyprus in 1878 was supposed at the time to be a friendly occupation conceded in return for a British guarantee of the Sultan's Asiatic dominions after Russia had lopped off Batum and the great frontier stronghold of Kars. To the British occupation of Egypt in 1882 on the other hand Turkey never even formally assented, and it was perhaps a more severe blow, not to the material power but to the prestige of the Ottoman Sultanate, than later on the incorporation of Bosnia and Herzegovina into the Hapsburg dominions and the simultaneous proclamation of Bulgarian independence in 1908. The Italo-Turkish War of 1911, which resulted in the loss of Tripoli—the last Ottoman province in Africa—and of almost all the remaining Ottoman islands in the Eastern Mediterranean, had as its far more disastrous sequel the Balkan Wars of 1912-13, which reduced the Ottoman Empire in Europe to the single province of Adrianople or Eastern Thrace, which, with the Gallipoli peninsula, was all that remained to cover Constantinople against attack by land and by sea.

Still, however precarious its foothold in Europe had become, the Ottoman Empire remained intact in Asia, and its independence as a sovereign State undiminished. It seemed indeed in a fair way to acquire a new significance in the Eastern world, for the Ottoman Sultanate had pressed, for the first time in modern history and with great and not unsuccessful insistency, under Abdul Hamid II., a claim to the spiritual headship of Islam as the legitimate inheritor of the ancient Arab Khalifate. The claim was founded on a complete distortion of the true meaning of the Khalifate, which never represented any spiritual but only a temporal sovereignty. But it found a considerable measure of acceptance, and even in India we ourselves have had to reckon with its political implications. In its most extreme form it was bound and intended to undermine the allegiance of the Mohammedan subjects of every European Power.

The ruling faction who controlled the fortunes of the Ottoman Empire in the fateful year 1914 chose to stake them on the triumph of the Germanic Powers. They lost, and the Peace Treaty signed at Sèvres on 10th August sets forth the

penalty. In Europe, Turkey is allowed, as a concession mainly to Mohammedan feeling, to retain the city of Constantinople with a few miles behind it up to the Chataldja lines, but the whole of Eastern Thrace with Gallipoli is transferred to Greece. In Asia, Turkey surrenders all her Arab provinces from the Taurus Mountains north of Aleppo to the Persian frontier north of Mosul, *i.e.*, Syria and Palestine and Mesopotamia, besides the vast peninsula of Arabia proper. The Treaty provides, moreover, for the creation of an independent Armenian State to be carved out of the old vilayets of Trebizond, Erzerum, Bitlis, and Van, and of an autonomous Kurdish State to the south of Armenia with eventual rights to complete independence. It has handed over to Greek administration the chief seaport of Asia Minor, Smyrna, with a considerable *hinterland* extending over one hundred miles along the coast and stretching almost equally far into the interior, and though the Turkish flag saves the Turk's face for the moment, there can be little doubt as to the meaning of the further provision that after five years this valuable territory shall pass definitely under Greek sovereignty if the local Parliament with which it is to be forthwith endowed petitions the League of Nations to that effect and a popular plebiscite endorses the petition. The new Turkish State is to possess the rest of Asia Minor, and it will be as homogeneous as the inherent difficulty of tracing ethnical boundaries in that region can make it. But it will still include non-Turkish and non-Mohammedan minorities, and special articles therefore provide safeguards against a revival of past oppression. Even more effective perhaps than such safeguards are the articles which place the Turkish State itself under the strict financial tutelage of the Allied Powers—France, Great Britain, and Italy—to be exercised through an international commission to which a Turkish representative will be admitted only in a consultative capacity. Moreover within a band of territory, partly Greek as well as Turkish, extending from the Ægean to the Black Sea along both the European and Asiatic shores of the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora and the Bosphorus, as well as over those waters themselves, another international commission will exercise full authority with an organisation, budget, and flag of its own, in order to secure freedom of navigation through and within the Straits both in peace and war. On this commission

will be represented, with differentiated voting powers, not only the principal Allied Powers, including the United States,—if and when they are willing to participate—but the neighbouring Balkan States, Greece, Rumania, and Bulgaria too, as soon as she joins the League of Nations, and on the same condition ultimately Russia. As a concession made—and very reasonably made—since the original draft Treaty, Turkey will also be entitled to representation. Add to the restrictions upon the sovereign rights of Turkey involved in the establishment of these international commissions, the reduction of the Turkish army to a force of 50,000 men, with only such arms and ammunition as the Powers choose to allow, and the prohibition of any Turkish navy or air force, and it will be seen that nothing remains of the old Ottoman Empire but a second-rate Asiatic State with curtailed rights of sovereignty, its population reduced by more than half and its area by over two-thirds.

That Turkey renounces all rights and titles over Egypt, the Suez Canal, and the Sudan as well as over Lybia, which was formerly Tripoli, recognises the French Protectorate over Tunis and Morocco and surrenders, besides Cyprus, all her islands in the Mediterranean, constitutes merely the formal recognition of accomplished facts. The question of the Khalifate is not so much as mentioned in the Treaty, and rightly so, as it is in its essence a religious question which the Islamic world must settle for itself. But it cannot fail to be affected by Turkey's explicit recognition of the Hejaz as a free and independent State. It abrogates one of the Sultan's chief titles to the Khalifate, viz., the custody of Mecca and Medina. Even should he continue to style himself 'Guardian of the two 'Holy Cities,' the champions of the Ottoman Khalifate have themselves been at pains to rob that title of any substantial value, when severed from territorial sovereignty over them, by insisting that the exercise of the Sultan's spiritual authority as Khalif is inseparable from the exercise of political authority. Obviously too the head of a small Asiatic State with less real independence than Afghanistan now enjoys can never again bulk as large in the eyes of Mohammedans outside his slender frontiers as did his predecessors when they ruled over a stately empire that ranked as one of the great Powers of Europe and could still profess to wield 'the sword of Islam.'

The terms imposed upon Turkey are stern. But they are the penalty not merely of military defeat, but of the vices inherent to a system of government which had long ceased to have any moral claim to survive. Never indeed were those vices more shamelessly flaunted than during the war. The man who above all embodied them was Enver who, as Minister for War, exercised even over his colleagues a dictatorship which they never ventured to question until the ruin he had brought upon them all began to stare them in the face. He had been at one time as Military Attaché at Berlin the darling of Prussian society as well as the chosen confidant of the Prussian militarists, and it was with him that Herr von Wangenheim, the German Ambassador in Constantinople, conducted the negotiations that resulted in the conclusion of an offensive alliance within the first week of August 1914 at the very moment when Turkey was officially proclaiming her neutrality. It was Enver who feverishly pressed on the preparations for war, as soon as the *Goeben* and *Breslau* had safely reached the Golden Horn, and who, a few weeks later, in the last days of October, when the Grand Vizier and other Turkish Ministers were still mumbling professions of friendship to the representatives of the Entente Powers, precipitated the catastrophe by sending out the *Goeben* and the *Hamidieh* into the Black Sea to bombard Russian ports, and Beduin mercenaries to cross the Egyptian frontier without a shadow of either provocation or warning. That the Turkish soldier displayed during the war the same fighting qualities that he had always shown, especially in the dogged defence of strong positions, we know to our own cost from the story of Gallipoli and of Kut. But of the extent to which those qualities were paralysed and squandered—fortunately for us—by the megalomania and greed of the adventurer who fancied himself a Turkish Napoleon, we had little means of knowing whilst the war was still raging.

A flood of light upon the condition of Turkey during the war has been at last let in by no less an authority than General Liman von Sanders, who was head of the German Military Mission before and during the hostilities. His 'Five Years in Turkey,' which ought to be translated into English, is as dispassionate a work on the Great War as has yet been written by any who played in it an important and responsible part. His

appointment to the post at the end of 1913, with greatly extended powers which conferred for the first time upon a very distinguished German officer not merely consultative but direct executive authority over the Turkish army, was an event of which the significance seems to have attracted at the time little attention except at St. Petersburg. If when war actually broke out it did not bear the full fruits that might have been expected from his ability, the fault lay not with General von Sanders but with the Turkish War Minister whose personal interests and ambitions resented the restraints which the German's soldierly advice vainly sought to place upon them.

General von Sanders has produced a military record of the Turkish share in the Great War which is all the more valuable and convincing in that it does not profess to be an apologia for the part which he or his country played in it. He has applied himself to his task with all the 'objectivity' on which the best German military writers used to pride themselves, and damning as are the criticisms which he is constrained to pass upon the conduct of the war in Turkey, and sometimes even on the action and influence of German Grand Headquarters in connexion with it, they are not the belated grumblings of a disappointed soldier. They are constantly supported by the text of his own reports written at the time and borne out afterwards by the event. In substance though never in form—for he is throughout singularly self-restrained and free even from any vindictiveness towards the Allies or the allied armies—General von Sanders' book is a crushing indictment of Turkish military administration and strategy in general, and of Enver's in particular. The three principal heads of the indictment appear to be, from the military point of view, the constant dispersion of Turkish military effort on a number of fronts far in excess of Turkish military resources, for which General von Sanders holds Enver's wild schemes of Pan-Turanian expansion, especially in Persia, mainly responsible; the inability of the Turks to create adequate lines of communication in support of their scattered armies; Enver's callousness as to the feeding and equipment of the often half starved and miserably clothed Turkish soldiers, which led to wholesale desertions, as well as to devastating sickness; and his shameless favouritism in the appointment of officers who, so long as they were his creatures, defied all other authority.

Among many other reports addressed by General von Sanders both to Enver and to German Grand Headquarters which reveal the condition at various dates of the Turkish army, there is one in particular to General von Ludendorff, dated 25th October 1916, on the military situation on the different Asiatic fronts, and another of 13th December 1917 on the shrinkage and deterioration of Turkey's fighting power which ought to have opened the eyes of those to whom they were addressed. But Enver was almost as omnipotent at German Headquarters as at Constantinople. Several times General von Sanders applied in sheer despair to be relieved of an appointment which Enver reduced to mere mockery; he travelled back to Europe twice to make strong representations by word of mouth; he approached the Emperor himself on more than one occasion; but all he got for his pains were imperious orders to remain at his post and make the best of circumstances which he himself knew could only lead to disaster.

Perhaps the secret of Enver's ascendancy in the inner councils of Germany must be sought not merely in his original subserviency to German policy or in the decisive part which he played in bringing Turkey into the war, but also in the readiness with which he went on meeting the demands of German Headquarters for the co-operation of Turkish divisions on remote European fronts, whilst General von Sanders was protesting that Turkey had not enough troops to hold the enemy even on her own frontiers. During the year 1916 no less than seven Turkish divisions were sent abroad to fight alongside German and Austrian troops, two in Galicia, three in Rumania and two in Serbia.

A few months later the Turks were driven out of Kut and Bagdad was occupied by General Maude. Enver himself was scared and appealed to Germany for help in the creation of a brand new force, known as the *Yilderim* or 'Lightning' force—a name which his fertile brain borrowed from the annals of the Ottoman Empire in the days when it could still send out victorious armies to the conquest of Egypt. Nothing illustrates quite so clearly the hold which Enver had upon the rulers of Germany than the readiness with which they were still prepared to back him. Berlin sent nearly £5,000,000 in gold, and a large new German staff with General von Falkenhayn, a former

Prussian Minister of War, who had lately distinguished himself in Rumania, and a number of new units of all arms, of which General von Sanders gives a full list, infantry, cavalry, artillery, engineers, aeroplanes, transport, field-hospitals, etc. The Germans did what was asked of them, though at that period of the war, in the middle of 1917, they could already ill afford it. Enver took everything, and though several Turkish divisions were recalled from the Caucasus and others recklessly depleted, in order to swell the *Yilderim* force, it achieved nothing. It was to reconquer Mesopotamia and then invade Egypt. Its headquarters were at Aleppo. It never moved even towards Mesopotamia, and as for Egypt, when General von Sanders implored Enver for reinforcements against the Egyptian Expeditionary Force which General Allenby was massing for the conquest of Palestine and Syria, he discovered that the Turkish Napoleon's mind was once more busy with his Pan-Turanian scheme to take advantage of the Russian *débâcle* for renewed operations in the Caucasus and in Western Persia.

But though General von Sanders as a soldier confines himself mainly to the business of war, one can frequently read between the lines, and sometimes not merely between the lines, the utter disgust with which not only Turkish military methods, but also Turkish civil methods of government filled him. He refers on more than one occasion to the folly of the Turkish rulers who by systematic oppression and corruption wantonly aggravated popular discontent and racial disaffection. He himself witnessed scenes of brutality and gross denials of justice against which he felt bound to protest, and he claims to have been able to render many little services to the unfortunate Greeks under the harrow in the Smyrna region. He tries less successfully to exonerate the German officers in Turkey from all responsibility in connexion with the Armenian massacres and declares emphatically that he himself never set foot in the provinces where the worst horrors took place. But he significantly describes it as 'almost a Nemesis' that in many parts of Asia Minor the Turkish troops themselves suffered severely from shortage of supplies and widespread sickness as the direct result of the Armenian 'persecutions' which depopulated whole districts and turned them into a howling wilderness. Nor does his special pleading alter the shameful fact that the Armenian

massacres during the war were just as much the outcome of a deliberate policy carried out under direct orders from the rulers of Turkey in close alliance with Germany, as those that had taken place twenty years earlier under Abdul Hamid, when William II. proceeded to Constantinople on purpose to clasp the Red Sultan's blood-stained hand as the price of the Bagdad Railway concession.

Neither in the nineties nor during the war did the Armenian massacres originate in any spontaneous explosion of Mohammedan fanaticism. They were the outcome of a deliberate policy—a policy which, in that systematic form, constituted not only an outrage upon humanity, but a final breach with the older traditions of the Ottoman Empire itself. In order to appreciate its significance it may be well to recall what those traditions had originally been throughout the rise of the Empire and the gradual departure from them during the following centuries of declining power. The great Ottoman conquerors cannot be charged with any congenital tendency towards religious persecution. The Ottoman Turks were a fighting race, and they fought for plunder and for power. They had wandered far from their homelands in Central Asia before they emerged into history out of the chaos into which the decline of both the Seljuk and the Byzantine Empires was plunging Asia Minor. When they exchanged their ancestral paganism for Islam, they showed few signs of the aggressive religious exaltation which had swept the Arab followers of the Prophet forward to conquer the world in the first century of the Hegira with a sword in one hand and the Koran in the other.

Though of Turki stock, they preferred for a long time to call themselves not Turks but Osmanlis or Ottomans after their leader Osman when he had carved out for them an independent State of which Brusa became the capital, and, himself, according to some authorities, a convert to Islam, first assumed the title of Sultan. They were quite ready to fight as mercenaries or as allies of the rival Christian factions who in turn appealed for their support, and it even was in that capacity that they first set foot in Europe and continued for a long time to exploit for their own aggrandisement the internecine feuds of Christian princes throughout Eastern Europe. Orkhan, the son of Osman, not only married a daughter of the Byzantine Emperor

Cantacuzene but allowed her to remain a Christian and sent over large Turkish contingents to fight sometimes his father-in-law's battles, and sometimes those of his enemies. Orkhan's successors preferred to send their armies across the Bosphorus on their own account, and ultimately transferred their capital to Adrianople more than eighty years before the conquest of Constantinople in 1453.

So little was religion their chief driving power that their appetite for conquest made no distinction between Asiatic and African territories already subdued and ruled by Mohammedans and the Christian States of Eastern Europe. The petty sultanate of Osman grew into a vast Ottoman Empire just as much at the expense of earlier Mohammedan, and even Turkish, States in Asia Minor, Persia, Syria, Arabia, Egypt and Northern Africa as at that of the Byzantine Empire, the Tsardoms of Bulgaria and Servia, and the various kingdoms and principalities of Dalmatia, Croatia, Hungary, Podolia, Moldavia, Wallachia, Bessarabia, and the Crimea. Under Osman and his great successors the ruling race absorbed large numbers of Christians, Greeks, Slavs and later on Albanians and Bosniacs, whom ambition drove to abjure their own faith and embrace Islam. But the early Sultans never sought to impose the State religion by force upon the Christian populations whom they subdued. When Mahomet the Conqueror entered Constantinople, he dealt exceptionally generously with the Greek Patriarchate. He followed in the footsteps of his predecessors and preferred to recognise and maintain the spiritual authority of the Christian bishops and patriarchs over their respective communities, holding them responsible for the loyal submission of their flocks to their new temporal rulers.

For one reason, it was a policy that kept the Ottoman Treasury in funds. So long as the conquered races remained non-Mohammedan there was practically no limit to the taxation to which they could be subjected. But from the moment when they embraced Islam, they were entitled to claim equality of treatment with the Turks under Mohammedan law which does not discriminate between earlier and later converts, but knows of no other distinction than between believers and unbelievers. The Christian populations no doubt suffered many hardships, and perhaps the most cruel of all was the annual conscription

of their finest and healthiest boys to be trained as recruits, and of course as Mohammedans, for the famous body of Janissaries. But they were seldom subjected to religious persecution, and the Sultans found it convenient to utilise their greater business capacity and intelligence in many important branches of the Ottoman administration. The Greeks for instance had almost a monopoly of all but the highest posts in the collection and administration of revenue until the Greek War of Independence, when they were for a time largely superseded by Armenians whose loyalty was then regarded as less open to suspicion. Christian officials naturally exerted such influence as they safely could to temper the wind to their own communities. It was however the ecclesiastical organisation which the subject races had been allowed to retain throughout the centuries of unchallenged Turkish domination that enabled them to preserve some measure of independent communal life, and with it their national language and traditions, until the spark of life that had never been extinguished burst once more into a burning flame at the breath of modern Europe.

As the pressure of Christendom on his receding frontiers increased, the hand of the ruling Turk upon the Christian peoples still under his heel grew heavier. He felt their quickening pulse and was afraid. But not till the Greek War of Independence did he fully realise the dangers which threatened him from their national renaissance. It might not then have been too late for him to try to reconcile their interests with his own, but he was incapable of such statesmanship. He preferred during the fifty years' respite which the jealousies of the European Powers gave him, to concentrate all the resourcefulness of a temporising diplomacy on defeating their endeavours to impose upon him, sometimes by persuasion and sometimes by force, successive schemes of internal reforms which, had they been loyally carried out, might have arrested the disintegration of his Empire. Though there had been sporadic massacres of Christians during the Greek War of Independence, and again during the risings in Bosnia and in Herzegovina and especially in Bulgaria, which ushered in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, it was not until the end of the century that Abdul Hamid's sinister genius erected massacre into a State policy. Far more formidable than the Greek element, settled for the

most part along the Mediterranean coast of Asiatic Turkey, were in his eyes the Armenians who actually constituted the majority of the population in most of the provinces adjacent to the Russian Empire and were in close touch with their more fortunate brethren under Russian rule across the frontier. He saw there all the makings of an Asiatic Bulgaria whenever it might suit the Powers, and especially Russia, to enforce upon him in favour of the Armenians the execution of the engagements to which Turkey was pledged by the Treaty of Berlin. But if his Armenian subjects were wiped out of existence, there could, he argued, be no longer an Armenian question.

The Armenian massacres of the nineties were the first fruits of a deliberate policy of extermination hitherto unprecedented in the annals of the Ottoman Empire. But, as in many other instances, Abdul Hamid's resolution was not equal to his boldness of conception. His courage failed him long before he had achieved his purpose. He merely thinned out the number of his Armenian subjects by one hundred thousand. After the revolution which cost him his throne, the 'Young Turks' of the Committee of Union and Progress resorted fitfully to his methods, even before the Great War. It was reserved to Enver to revive during the war, in agreement with his chief colleague and rival in the Ottoman War Cabinet, Talaat Pasha, then Minister of the Interior, and afterwards Grand Vizier, the policy which Abdul Hamid had initiated, and to carry it out on a far larger scale than the 'Red Sultan' had dared to. There is no evidence to show that the Turkish population who had generally lived on terms of more or less amity with their Armenian neighbours had any large share in the execution of that policy. The attempts to raise the cry of 'Islam in danger' by the proclamation of a Holy War after the outbreak of hostilities in 1914 had fallen distinctly flat. The *fatwa* issued in support of it by a Sheikh-ul-Islam who like many other members of the Committee of Union and Progress was a notorious free-thinker carried very little weight, and the reports diligently put about that the German Emperor had himself embraced Islam, failed to convince many pious Mohammedans that a war waged in alliance with two European Powers, just as 'infidel' as the enemy Powers, could be properly regarded as a Holy War.

The massacres had therefore to be carried out according to

plan under orders directly issued from Constantinople, and the procedure adopted was as simple as it was effective. In the provinces chiefly inhabited by Armenians, all those who had hitherto escaped conscription, young boys and old men as well as those of military age, were ordered to present themselves at a given date in the chief town or village of their district, where an adequate force of Turkish gendarmerie was assembled to deal with any symptoms of recalcitrancy. They were then mustered and marched off under escort to the appointed depots which they were never intended to reach. At some convenient spot on the road, bands of Kurdish and other cut-throats recruited for the purpose lay in wait for them and hacked them to pieces. The women and small children who were not at once sold into Turkish harems were deported to distant camps on the Euphrates or in Syria where the survivors of the long and cruel marches slowly perished in great numbers from sickness and starvation. In the Bluebook of 1916 Lord Bryce establishes that of the two million Armenians in Turkey one-third were destroyed, another third suffered the horrors of deportation, and only one-third remained unmolested. The capture of Erzerum in January 1916, and the rapid advance of the Russian armies on the Asiatic front under the brilliant leadership of the Grand Duke Nicholas throughout the first half of that year, and, after the Russian collapse, the renewed pressure of the British armies in Mesopotamia and Palestine, gave pause even to Enver and Talaat. But, if more pressing preoccupations and a sense of their waning popularity deterred them from again carrying their policy of extermination to the same lengths, some credit must be given also to the disgust expressed by many Turks, including so high a Mohammedan dignitary as the Sheikh-ul-Islam, Haidar Bey, who, it is said, resigned his office in protest against abominations repugnant to the spirit and laws of Islam.

Whilst amongst all the subject races of Turkey the Armenians were incomparably the worst sufferers during the war from the ruthlessness of a policy which was rather Nationalist and Pan-Turanian than religious or Pan-Islamic, neither the Greeks of Asia Minor nor the Syrians escaped persecution, nor amongst the latter when they were suspected of having nationalist aspirations of their own, Mohammedans any more than Christians. Nor was persecution the only scourge nor the disaffected nation-

alities the only sufferers. The more customary forms of Turkish misrule were stretched to such lengths as had seldom if ever been reached before. The whole population without distinction of race or creed or sex or age was bled white, not so much under the inexorable pressure of war conditions as to bolster up a corrupt and incompetent ring of war profiteers, chief amongst them Enver himself. The Turks claim to have put 2,700,000 men in the field between 1914 and 1918. Whilst they only put down their casualties at less than a million, which is clearly too low, they admit to have had barely 200,000 combatants left at the time of the armistice. The American Relief Committees, who have had exceptional opportunities for making careful inquiries, estimate that more than a quarter of the whole population perished from casualties, sickness, famine, and massacres. And how few of that vast multitude had ever had their heart in the war. Of the Christians of course none. Amongst the Turks, the inarticulate masses, already disheartened by the disasters of the Balkan wars, had been only dragged reluctantly into a fresh and much more exhausting conflict with the Allies of whom they regarded only Russia as a real enemy. The better classes of the more old-fashioned and conservative Mohammedan type had long ago learnt to distrust the Committee of Union and Progress, and their distrust turned to bitter resentment when the war, instead of fulfilling Enver's vainglorious prophecies, brought misery and want to all but the small clique who battered with him on the nation's distress. The Turk is accustomed to corruption in high places, but the cornering of food-stuffs when people were starving, and speculating on exchange with bank notes manufactured in Germany transcended all accustomed limits. There were dissensions and jealousies too within the Committee and even within the Cabinet, and not least between Enver and Talaat. For instance one of the latter's friends, Fathi Bey, who as Minister at Sofia had played an important part in the diplomacy of the war, resigned his post early in 1918 and got himself elected to the Chamber of Deputies in order to denounce Enver's shameless speculations from the tribune.

A few months later, in July, the death of Mahomet V. brought a new Sultan to the throne. One heir whom the Committee of Union and Progress had suspected of having a will of his own, had already disappeared mysteriously in 1916.

But Mahomet VI. was not the pathetic wreck that Mahomet V. had been, nor disposed to be a mere puppet in Enver's hands. The Turkish *débâcle* was already in full progress in the inner councils at Constantinople as well as on the stricken fields of Mesopotamia and Syria when Bulgaria collapsed, and within a few weeks the heroes of the Committee had fled, with the German Ambassador, Count von Bernstorff of Washington fame, following speedily at their heels, and left to others far less guilty than themselves the desperate task of suing for terms and rescuing what could still be rescued from the general wreckage.

Of the Ottoman Empire it may be more truly said than of any other that has endured into our own times that by the sword it was won and by the sword it has perished. Even in the heyday of its omnipotence it never made any distinctive contribution to human progress. Its literature, like its language, which had to borrow all the words required to connote abstract ideas from Arabic and all its elegancies of diction from Persian, is a poor adaptation of Arab and Persian models, and its art, and even its architecture, but a pale reflection of the higher Oriental civilisations with which it came into contact but never into intimate communion. Its history, whether during its rise or its decline—and the Turks never produced any historians of their own until after the conquest of Constantinople—is in the main a record of devastating wars which were waged for the first three hundred years with almost uniform success, and for the last three hundred years with almost equally uniform unsuccess.

Nor are the causes of success and unsuccess far to seek. The Ottoman Empire was throughout the six centuries of its existence essentially an Asiatic despotism. Under a despotic form of government everything depends upon the character and qualities of the autocrat himself or of those into whose hands he allows the exercise of his autocratic power to pass. For three centuries the Sultans, who from father to son succeeded the founder of the dynasty, Osman, himself a brilliant soldier of fortune, were born leaders of men, and the men they led were born fighters. They had moreover the gift of military organisation. Orkhan, the son of Osman, created an army for those times highly trained, equipped, and disciplined, of which the body of Janissaries, instituted under his son Murad I., became the formidable spear-head. The tide of Ottoman

conquest was now and again for a short time arrested. But the superiority of the Ottoman military system remained unbroken whilst the first ten Sultans led their armies in person, and often in person rallied them to victory when all seemed to be lost. Just as Orkhan headed his troops at the capture of Brusa, Mahomet II. led the final assault on the walls of Constantinople, and Selim I. fought his way through the streets of Cairo to the mastery of Egypt. Some were cruel and licentious, but they all had not only physical courage and endurance, but strength of will and even rudimentary political sagacity.

The last of the ten great Sultans was Soliman the Magnificent who succeeded Selim I. in 1520, and during his forty-six years' reign raised the Ottoman Empire to the zenith of its splendour. Of the twenty-five Sultans who have since then continued the dynasty not half a dozen have ruled in more than name. In spite of the Mohammedan law of succession in favour of the eldest agnate or male member of the family, the throne had at first passed from father to son, thanks to the effective if barbarous practice of killing off all who might stand in the way of the appointed heir. Instead of putting nineteen brothers to death as Mahomet III. was still able to do on his accession in 1595, the Sultans began to adopt the custom of confining the heir to the throne within an apartment of the seraglio which came to be known as the 'cage,' where he was given every facility to waste himself in debauchery—a custom which Abdul Hamid revived in our own days by keeping his brother Reshad, who reigned as Mahomet V. at the beginning of the Great War, a State prisoner in the Tcheragan Palace for over thirty years.

Other and still more abominable means were resorted to in the imperial harems where the Sultana or frequently some favourite concubine held paramount sway and sold or bestowed, in accordance with her own interests or whims, the highest offices of State. Under the early Ottomans, as under the early Arab Khalifate, women were free and went about unveiled and played their own useful and honourable part in the community. Constantinople, on the other hand, had become a cesspool of corruption under the Byzantine emperors, and the infection soon communicated itself to their Turkish successors. The

seraglio made and unmade generals and grand viziers, and sometimes even sultans.

Now and again out of this welter of corruption and depravity there still chanced to emerge a more virile and capable ruler, or a bolder and more patriotic minister who succeeded for a time in staying the creeping paralysis and putrefaction of the State. It spread gradually, if more slowly, to the armies. For three centuries they had seldom known defeat, and had been constantly fed on the plunder of fresh conquests. They lost their old discipline and *ethos* with their old sense of invincibility, and the Janissaries themselves degenerated into a turbulent and sometimes mutinous caste when they ceased in the seventeenth century to receive their yearly infusion of vigorous young Christian blood and began to be recruited exclusively amongst Mohammedans. It is worthy of note too that though the Turks of Asia Minor always supplied the best raw material for the Ottoman armies, their finest leaders were very often not Turks, but Greeks or Slavs or Albanians, either renegades themselves or the sons or grandsons of renegades. The Ottoman fleets, when they ruled the Mediterranean, were almost entirely manned by Greek crews.

The wars waged during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries on the European frontiers of the Empire almost invariably reflected the septic dissolution at its centre. Constantinople was full of rottenness, and as the Turkish adage has it, 'the rotting fish begins to stink from the head.' Sobieski's resounding victory, when in 1683 he routed the Turkish hordes under the walls of Vienna, dealt as dire a blow to the prestige of the Ottoman army on land as the battle of Lepanto had dealt a little over a century earlier to Ottoman naval supremacy. The second siege of Vienna was the last great effort to maintain the traditions of Ottoman conquest. Wars continued to be waged almost without ceasing, but they were henceforth in reality defensive wars, and with rare exceptions, every Treaty of Peace, which brought generally but a short respite, drove the Turk a step backward towards Asia.

The revival of national consciousness amongst the subject races would have done much more to hasten the disintegration of the Empire, had not the jealousies of the European Powers and the difficulty of filling up the vacuum which its disappear-

ance was bound to produce temporarily arrested its doom. Russia alone seemed bent on ending it, and for her own benefit. Other Powers preferred to believe in the possibility of mending it. Great Britain and France fought the Crimean War in support of the latter policy, and Great Britain went to the verge of another war with Russia in 1878 in order to rescue it once more from wholesale dismemberment in Europe. There was this much to justify the optimism of British statesmen that during a considerable part of the nineteenth century, under Sultan Mahmud II., who destroyed the Janissaries and was a reformer according to his lights, and under his two very inferior successors, Abdul-Medjid and Abdul-Aziz, the power had passed again in a great measure out of the seraglio and into the hands of a bureaucratic oligarchy which knew at least how to build a modern *façade* on to the Sublime Porte. Indeed Lord Stratford de Retchiffe, the great *Eltchi*, convinced himself and his Government that not merely the *façade* but the very foundations could be renovated and made sound, and the belief persisted under ambassadors of a lesser calibre right into the reign of Abdul Hamid II.

Of all the Sultans who have been girt with the sword of Osman at their accession to the throne since the days of Soliman the Magnificent the most remarkable and in many ways the most gifted was Abdul Hamid, who owed his throne to two palace conspiracies and was in turn overthrown thirty-two years later by a revolution, which professed to be the uprising of a young Turkish democracy. Under the menace of widespread revolt in European Turkey and of foreign invasion, Abdul Hamid had started by giving the Ottoman Empire the first and only Constitution it ever had and representative assemblies on the European model. He suspended these when the Russo-Turkish War came, and not only maintained their suspension indefinitely after the war was over, but applied himself with consummate astuteness to the practical extinction of the Sublime Porte and the concentration of all real authority in his own unfettered hands. It came to be said in Constantinople that no dog could bark throughout the length and breadth of his Empire without an *iradeh* from the palace.

To make up for the territorial losses which had reduced the limits of his temporal power, Abdul Hamid for the first time

sought to make capital out of the title of Khalif which Selim the Conqueror had brought back with him from Cairo, by claiming on the strength of it the recognition of his spiritual authority throughout the Mohammedan world. With the industry of a spider in his web, Abdul Hamid sat, year in, year out, in his sheltered palace of Yeldiz, surrounded by a picked staff of secretaries and spies who were, like his bodyguard, Syrians and Albanians and Kurds and Circassians but seldom Turks, weaving a complicated network of fine-spun schemes which were apt to be marred at the critical moment by a sudden loss of will power largely due to the haunting fear of assassination. He dreaded in every advocate of liberal reforms, whether in the general administration of his Empire or in the special governance of the Christian provinces, a potential conspirator, to be suppressed if one of his own subjects, and, if the representative of a foreign Power, an inconveniently privileged foe to be disarmed by bland words and specious promises. In the German Emperor alone, who never whispered the hateful word reforms and flattered all his autocratic aspirations as Khalif and Sultan, he found a kindred spirit. But though he was ready to pay a high price for Germany's protection from the insistent pressure of other Powers that he should mend his ways, he would probably have been too wary to harness himself irretrievably to her war chariot as did the Young Turks who came after him.

Under the veiled oligarchy of the Committee of Union and Progress who transferred the seat of power back from the palace to the Porte and revived the simulacrum of a Parliament, the Young Turks soon dropped the cry of 'Liberty, equality and 'fraternity,' for to that cry not merely Macedonian and Armenian Christians, but Mohammedans, Albanian and Arab, began to agitate for autonomy, and the only nationalism for which the Young Turks had any use was their own. They cared less for the sword of Islam than for a good Turkish sword. Their methods were as despotic as Abdul Hamid's and to the vices inherent to Hamidian misrule they added a new spirit of militarism which had been entirely alien to Abdul Hamid's temperament. Their religion sat very light on most of them, and Pan-Islamism was relegated for the nonce to the background in favour of a gospel of Turkish or Pan-Turanian nationalism which was closely modelled on that of Prussian

Pan-Germanism. They explored the map of the world and the pages of history to discover the scattered remnants of a common racial stock to be welded together into national unity under Ottoman hegemony by the Turkish sword. Islam was to be merely called in aid to supply a visible *nexus* where other links might prove too frail and shadowy. The goal pursued was once more the domination of the Turkish race rather than of the Mohammedan creed.

In defiance of Islamic tradition, they had the Koran for the first time translated from Arabic into Turkish. Pan-Turanian literature even harked back for choice to pre-Islamic days when the Turks emerged from their original homeland in Central Asia under a Ka-Khan who never dreamt of either Sultanate or Khalifate, and whose banners bore the pagan wolf and not the Mohammedan crescent as his symbol. Bernhardt's 'Downfall' or 'World Dominion' would have terrified Abdul Hamid. For Enver and his like it was good red meat, quite after their own heart. So when the moment came they eagerly responded to the kindred call of Prussian militarism. Abdul Hamid had held the door ajar. The Young Turks threw it wide open. When they proclaimed a Holy War, they must have done so with their tongue in their cheek. The war they were waging was a Pan-Turanian war, just as the war that William II. waged was a Pan-German war, and the Nemesis that has overtaken both them and him has fitted in both cases their crime. For just as the dreams of both Pan-Turanianism and Pan-Germanism have been shattered in the field, the peace for which they have had to sue has stripped Turkey of all her non-Turkish provinces, just as it has stripped Germany and her Austrian satellite of their non-German provinces.

That the Ottoman Empire has deserved its fate, or that the different autonomous and independent States carved out of it are destined to better things under whatever form of government and administration may be ultimately evolved for them, can hardly be doubted by anyone who takes the trouble to compare the past and present condition of the various countries which were part of the Ottoman Empire a century ago, and have since then achieved their independence. Take the Balkan nations. None of them has been free of reproach. Far from it. All have had ugly pages to their record. Bulgaria grievously misused

her emancipation. But can anyone deny the strides which Greece and Servia and Rumania and Bulgaria herself have made towards a higher plane of civilisation since they have been rid of the paralysing blight of Ottoman domination? The question at any rate is not so much to-day whether the peace terms imposed upon Turkey by the Allies are unreasonable, as whether the Allies have the will or the power to see them carried into effect. If the prospect of permanent peace and of settled reconstruction were not so painfully remote all the world over, one could answer the question with more confidence.

In spite of the germs of trouble which internationalisation always contains, the complicated forms of international control to be established within the new Turkish State constitute guarantees, at present indispensable, for the welfare of the people, whether Turks or non-Turks, who are fortunately on the whole industrious and law-abiding, when free from outside incitements to disorder. They themselves ask for nothing but the cessation of strife and suffering. The country has considerable natural resources which are quite capable of restoring its material prosperity, if peacefully developed, and even the financial bankruptcy of the State does not involve such disastrous consequences as elsewhere for communities whose economic organism is still rudimentary. The transfer of Smyrna to Greece would be a serious matter for the commercial future of the whole of Asia Minor if the Greeks were to take a narrow view of their interests. But with the inducement before them of a plebiscite within five years time which will decide the question of its final incorporation into the Hellenic kingdom, the Greeks under the guidance of such a statesman as M. Venizelos may be trusted to see that their administration of Smyrna and its valuable *hinterland* exalts the horn of Hellenism. The Armenians have been and still are so heavily handicapped that it will at best be hard for them to win through, but their history shows them to possess great national pride and grit and real business capacity, and they have the strongest claims on the help and goodwill of the civilised world. All that can be said about the Kurds is that they are given a chance now of proving themselves worthy of an independent existence. They have hitherto more often displayed a truculent sense of their own free-born rights than any marked regard for the rights of their

neighbours, and they have frequently acquired a sinister notoriety as the willing tools of their Turkish masters. They have doubtless the rugged qualities of untamed mountaineers, and the most perhaps that one can ask of them is that they shall be content in future to rule themselves on their own primitive lines within the natural frontiers now assigned to them.

But even such modest anticipations may well seem too sanguine when one looks at the conditions that actually prevail all over the East. Where indeed is the fulfilment of the promise of a new era which was to follow the overwhelming triumph of the Allies? That they themselves have committed grave mistakes even in their handling of the Turkish situation is beyond dispute. Had the terms of the armistice been more stringent in exacting the surrender of all war material, or had the Allies been able to agree more promptly upon the conditions of peace or to enforce the right which they had reserved for themselves to occupy the Armenian provinces as soon as the resurgence of Turkish Nationalism threatened fresh trouble there, Mustafa Kemal would not have been tempted or able to organise forces of resistance which it would be unwise to underrate, a large part of Asia Minor would have been spared a long period of renewed anarchy and the Allies themselves would not have afforded to the whole East the dangerous spectacle of divided counsels and military impotence from which they have recently owed their rescue mainly to Venizelos and the Greek army.

The rout of the Nationalist forces by the Greeks in Western Asia Minor and in Eastern Thrace contributed at least as much to overcome the last hesitations of the Sultan and his Ministers as the warning from the Allies that the clause which left Turkey in possession of Constantinople was still subject to revision. The Treaty of Sèvres has been signed, and the interests of the Constantinople Government are clearly bound up with the acceptance of the Treaty throughout the Turkish State which it has created. But the Sultan's writ does not at present run very far, and Mustafa Kemal, who is generally admitted to be in many ways a far better man than Enver, still has a large part of Asia Minor in his grip, and the Greeks can hardly be expected, nor perhaps would their military resources avail, to finish him off, even if the Allies were again to invite their assistance.

Nor is it only the expiring efforts of Turkish Nationalism with which the Allies have to reckon. Behind it stand the unknown forces of Bolshevism. As practised in Russia Bolshevism is doubtless fundamentally incompatible with Islam, but Bolshevism is many-tongued and as preached for the purpose of appealing to Mohammedan discontent with the new order of things, especially amongst naturally turbulent populations, knows how to adapt itself to every human passion and appetite. The Pan-Turanian elements of resistance to the Treaty of Sèvres which Mustafa Kemal has gathered about him are in dangerously close contact and communion with Bolshevism, and more particularly with the spirit of aggressive militarism with which Bolshevism tends to be increasingly informed. Already the new Armenian State, even before it has been definitely mapped out, has been driven by the converging pressure of the Turkish Nationalists and the Russian Bolsheviks to solicit terms from the latter as the lesser of two evils, and Persia is threatened by the same unholy combination.

But, for the most ominous development of all, we must unfortunately look to the old Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire where a couple of years ago the British were welcomed as liberators. At our call the Arab race rose against its ancient oppressors. The new spirit which we evoked cannot be exorcised by mere force even if we were prepared for a ruthless application of force. Yet throughout the Arab countries we have neither frankly laid aside force nor have we honestly fulfilled our war promises. The occupation of Damascus by the French and the establishment of Zionism in Palestine are both the negations of the right of self-determination which was to be the reward of Arab war services. However clumsy the term may be, the Arabs understood it, and rightly understood it, to mean that they were to be masters in their own house. Our own troubles in Mesopotamia are largely the inevitable repercussion of our broken pledges in Syria and Palestine. Bagdad is the home of many of the leading Arabs whom Feisal gathered around him when he tried to form at Damascus, with our consent and approval, the first independent Arab Government to be set up since the Ottoman conquest of the Arab lands. Is it surprising that in their bitterness they turn against us whom they regarded and trusted as their friends rather than against the French

whom they had been apt to look upon as at least potential enemies? Is it surprising that the people of Mesopotamia have shown no faith in the paper constitutions which we have dangled before them at the eleventh hour when they see Syria and Palestine littered with the wreckage of our promises and of their hopes?

There seems to be a general tendency in this country to dwell almost exclusively on the material difficulties of the new situation created by the extinction of the Ottoman Empire. They are indeed very great. But they are small compared with those which will confront us throughout the East if the East loses at this critical juncture its faith in the moral superiority of the West which has been the basis and the justification of Western ascendancy. The Ottoman Empire has disappeared because it had become an instrument for evil to the world. The British Empire has survived because it has on the whole been an instrument for good to the world. It would be a tragedy indeed if, having destroyed an empire which rested only on force, we were to forget what have been the better title-deeds of our own Empire.

VALENTINE CHIROL.

THE CLIMAX OF DISRAELI

The Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield. By GEORGE EARLE BUCKLE (in succession to W. F. Monypenny). Vols. v. and vi. Murray. 1920.

WHAT Disraeli wrote to the Duke of Wellington about his father's Despatches may be well said of the two volumes before us. They are 'full of life and of 'stirring life,' and 'They form out-and-out the most interesting 'political book that has been published in this century.' Mr. Buckle has done full justice to the zenith, both of the Victorian Age and of the commanding genius who piloted it. It is fitting that the climax of the drama here unfolded should not—as was intended—have been compressed into a single volume. That would have been to cramp and dwarf both the portrait and the picture. Mr. Buckle has wisely allowed Disraeli to speak for himself while the intervals of elucidation are at once precise and interpretative. He has been penetrating without pedantry and comprehensive without diffuseness.

Mr. Buckle's book embodies the ruling ideas which haunted Disraeli's dreams and inspired his deeds. Outside the depth of his individual glamour and the unsuspected gentleness of his strength, these ideas were his talisman—indeed sometimes, through their tense and over-insistent rigidity, the drawback of a mind singularly flexible to the close. They overcharged it. It is wholesome at this moment that a confused and groping collectivism should be confronted by personality, abstracts by imagination, and formulas by truths. In his half-spiritual realm of energised ideas Disraeli shook men out of their shibboleths and recalled them to first elements. He tested principle by practice, and exposed the Joseph Surfaces who were ready to sacrifice their country to their sentiments. The high policy which they trounced as 'selfish' he assured them was only 'as 'selfish as patriotism.' He scorned their allegiance to the universe. With far-reaching schemes for sane social improvement—which indeed he inaugurated—he repelled all social

disorganisations. 'Reform not revolution,' 'Defence not defiance' were his watchwords. Centralisation of every kind he abhorred. 'Who will dare disobey London?' he had exclaimed in one of his earliest pamphlets; and one of his last warnings was that if 'Cockney agitators' were suffered to upset the peasantry we should soon find either 'a despotism which will become a democracy or a democracy which will become a despotism'—a despotism as he elsewhere put it 'of one class, and that the least enlightened.'

His deep-seated enthusiasms were restrained and reticent. The demagogy of trading politicians he loathed, while he distinguished between *unlimited* democracy—as a class, not an element—and a true sympathy with the whole people. It was a change of spirit that he compassed, not an alternation of nostrums. Change for change's sake he abhorred. He discriminated between the just equality of opportunity and that false physical equality which was the least legitimate child of Rousseau. Independence linked with interdependence, liberty with order, and free Empire with both, were his public ideals. It was for peace at home and abroad that he strove by every art of consummate strategy, but he well knew that peace is not attainable without security, that words are not things, and that a sham humanitarianism is of all makeshifts the most cruel. The airing of abstracts—those second-hand Jacobin suits—for him spelled chaos and ultimate ruin. To extortion he never yielded an inch, and the mere thought of handing some one else's purse to a highwayman was anathema. Everywhere he preferred permission to compulsion.

He desired 'a firmly welded and united nation,' mutually conciliated, true to the traditions on which every 'change should 'be engrafted,' in fine, to its own *character*. Without a well-distributed local government both loyalty to a real throne and some aristocracy in every class would tend to vanish. The 'Wealth 'of Nations' was never for him materialist—'joint-stock felicity'—nor was progress arithmetical. He never mistook the Book of Numbers for the Book of Wisdom. Essentially a leader, he pierced into the heart of men and things by intuition, and he scorned to shift responsibility or make scapegoats. There was nothing hysterical about Disraeli. His 'Monarch and the 'Multitude' does not mean Bureaucracy and the Mob, or an

identification of Labour with 'Beggars-my-neighbour.' Creatively and by inheritance steeped in history and literature, ambitious with that passion for England's greatness which Lord Salisbury hailed, he revived the imperial and combated the 'emporial' idea. He nationalised England, and, as an admiring Socialist assured us, 'put back the clock of socialism for fifty years.' Odd indeed it is that Gladstone was to spread the cosmopolitanism which Disraeli detested.

The tragedy of Disraeli's triumph, as Mr. Buckle emphasises, was that he only obtained complete mastery when he was old and ill. But, as he assured the Queen in a remarkable letter, the school of abuse had taught him 'patience and self-control.'

A French author once observed that Disraeli's novels were 'Le Roman Politique.' So was his career. But just as much as he realised romance, it was reality that he romanticised alike in literature and in life. If with Napoleon he shared 'vast and 'fantastic conceptions of policy,' his reveries never lost touch with the firm earth, nor were his feet on the clouds. His combination of dreamer and doer, of romantic artistry and resolute action, forms his genius. The romantic faculty is that which associates the world with wonder. The practical faculty is bound up with will and judgment. The one made him the man of mystery, the other the man of mastery, and both in union a man of destiny. Temperamentally opposed as Gladstone and Disraeli were, they resembled each other in this, that each was conscious of a mission. With Gladstone it was the call of a priest-crusader; of doctrines and dogmas. With Disraeli, the ironic enthusiast, that of an imaginative fatalism. 'If anything 'is to be done in the world,' he exclaims in the fragment of his last and most modern novel, 'it must be done by visionaries, 'men who see the future and make the future because they see 'it.' When he wrote this he was seventy-four, and in a letter of about the same date he complains that his imagination will not grow old. Hence his long spells of dreamy solitude peopled with unseen presences, and so strangely contrasting with his cult of show and colour. Hence the offsets of inward simplicity against his delight in magnificence. Hence, too, his craving both for sympathy and power. The two strains of destiny and romance run through all his chivalrous devotions. His whole being was an inward romance, and only those who mistake

attitude for posture can call it affectation. He was alike the seer on his mount of vision and the world-connoisseur, spy-glass in hand.

His attachments, his disdain of lucre, his poignant wit, even his ambitions were all of the romantic order, and may be symbolised by his equal liking (now proved) for primroses and peacocks. He was both natural and ornate. He tells Lady Chesterfield that Lady Bradford (the Selina who suggested 'Endymion') is 'sweet and simple as a flower.' To Lady Bradford herself he speaks of her own 'dear, orange-tinted 'eyes.' Writing to the Queen of his ill-health and that it is 'unreasonable' not to expect it, he avows that a life merely of reason would be intolerable. And to the same royal devotee in 1878 he owns that 'during a somewhat imaginative and 'romantic life nothing has occurred to him so interesting' as their confidential intercourse. The fusion of romance and will lies at the very root of that 'elevation of mind' which the worsted Gortchakoff praised even after the Berlin Congress. There is a true story, unrecorded by Mr. Buckle, of a conversation between the Duchess of Sutherland and another Court lady as to which they would have chosen to marry, Disraeli or Gladstone. 'I think,' said the Duchess, 'I would 'like to have married Gladstone and soon to have eloped with 'Disraeli.' There you get the difference and the distinction.

No wonder that Disraeli has become a hero of legend with idolators and iconoclasts embroiled at his shrine. But the latter are now mostly the remnant of Gladstone worshippers—the clique that pits an angel of light against the prince of darkness. Gladstone had fine qualities, but neither charity nor clarity, and it must be owned that Mr. Buckle's revelations of his parochialism and of his Pharisaism have chipped a large block out of the saint's pedestal. Both of these figures however were *charmeurs*, and Lady Dorothy Nevill once assured me that Disraeli's manners were the best she had ever known—the tact and chivalry not only of the head but of the heart.

These contrasts and many others account for the aspect of Disraeli as a 'sphinx.' The mystery however ceases if we remember four of the strains which permeate him—the romantic strain of his Sephard ancestry, the eighteenth-century strain alike virile and artificial, the ironic strain of his favourite Lucian,

and the majestic strain of the prince-prophet Isaiah. For in Disraeli we recapture a figure of the antique world. Only extreme spite or ignorance could brand as 'charlatan' one who, in Mr. Buckle's considered words, towers above his contemporaries. And one is tempted to ask, as Heine asked about Napoleon, whether Disraeli may not have been the last of the great commanders—of those who are never mouthpieces, who never feel their way but get it. In the thick of the vital crises of 1876 he tells Lord Derby—

'I humbly think that we cannot act too powerfully and promptly. What I wish to impress upon you at this moment as regards home is not to act as if you were under the control of popular opinion. If so you may do what they like, but they won't respect you for doing it.'

And then he turns to the ill-informed agitation that was hooting against him as pro-Turk:—'All the Turks may be in 'the Propontis so far as I am concerned.' But should we give way to the pressure of this Hudibrastic crew of 'High Ritualists, 'Dissenting Ministers and the great Liberal Party we shall be 'contemptible.' There anyhow speaks a real man.

Yet one more preliminary. Every one knows that perhaps his ruling idea was that 'All is race,' and every one is right in tracing its predominance to his descent from a high Mediterranean caste. He meant, as his novels attest, that God rules the world through inherently unequal races with specific endowments. He never meant—and other speeches attest it—that the race idea is to be confused, as now it incessantly is, with the national idea. A nation means a fusion of many races under a common ideal of tradition and aspiration, to the stock of which they severally contribute. Disraeli's intense patriotism was based on the magnificence of the British fusion. So far from holding that race as race is entitled to 'nationality' he deprecated the very notion, nor ever more than when he rearranged the Near East at Berlin. Yet a good critic has recently fallen into this error, which Mr. Buckle in a striking passage almost seems to share. In this connexion moreover a personal fact should not be overlooked. Isaac Disraeli and his wife were indifferent to the race feeling, and brought up their children in quite English surroundings. Their foreign link was with Italy, the literature of which their great son early imbibed. It is often urged that Gladstone stood for 'nation-

'ality' and Disraeli for 'race'; probably just the reverse is the truth. It was Gladstone who desired that certain races should be nationally independent; it was Disraeli who repeatedly urged the perils of that process and who believed that as a rule an absorption of the parts into an organic whole made for the peace and the betterment of mankind. What did obsess Disraeli was that the race idea explains history through the periodical preponderance of certain races in a nation, and is thus the clue both to men and to movements.

The fifth volume opens with the position in February 1868 when Disraeli's first premiership headed a minority and presided over a by no means united Cabinet. The old Lord Derby, to whom he was devoted, and whose deputy he had offered to be with the same forbearance which he had thrice displayed during the 'fifties, was ailing and in retirement. Disraeli with infinite pains had just secured the Franchise Bill over which for twenty years he had pondered, while already he had raised a prophetic voice against the dangers of any vote based on right rather than privilege. These dangers were in their cradle. But the new Radicals were now catching at any ally in their degress towards disruption. The Whigs, too, were as much incensed by Disraeli's tutelage of the franchise as the Radicals had once been by Peel's of the Corn Laws. Otherwise no clouds lowered at home or abroad, and Disraeli had resolved to test the fate of his party at the revised polls in the autumn.

Suddenly the very Sir Galahad who looked on Disraeli as Merlin, the very man who shrank from theatricality, launched a *coup-de-théâtre*. Gladstone announced the first of his conversions with a speed only paralleled by St. Paul's. Not three years had elapsed since his declaration against Church disestablishment. Yet now, without mandate and in close kinship with Bright, he proclaimed that the moment was ripe for the disendowment as well as the disestablishment of the Irish Church. No doubt he was sincere in the good intentions of his self-delusions, but it is a curious fact that his conversions were coincident with political opportunism, and attended by a rancour amounting to spite against his rival. At this juncture he was able to league the most contradictory supporters under a banner of disunion. The straitest sects of Nonconformity, High Church Liberationists, rationalist and commercial Radicals, Rome and 'the Red

'Republic,' Ritualists and Utilitarians, all found an incongruous salvation in the casuistries of this first crusade. And this, at a time when Manning was in full consultation with Disraeli for a conciliatory reform of Irish University education—Manning who was by turns to desert both Disraeli and Gladstone, and long afterwards to tell the former that the latter was the most vindictive of men.

While Gladstone whipped his own conscience and that of this motley band to fever point, Disraeli, with a bitter smile, sought to whip the intellects of his countrymen into some perspective of proportions. He at once descried that this haste to ruin instead of to reform might sap not only the sanctions of religion but the principle of property, and especially of that landed property which he held to be England's safeguard. He discerned also the bode of an insidious pact between Romanism and Revolution. He feared lest Gladstone's paroxysm would eventually treat the National Church—'one of the few great 'things left'—as Henry VIII. had treated the Church international. He himself was eager to remedy any real injustice by that policy of 'concurrent endowment' which he had always maintained. But now Manning had left him at the bidding of Cardinal Cullen, who could not withstand the superior temptations of Gladstone's offer. Moreover the Whigs were to be left in the complete grasp of Gladstone by the coming death of John Russell.

Henceforward Disraeli and Gladstone stood out as the two protagonists on the stage of St. Stephen's. They fought their great duels and saved England the trouble of thinking. They typified two heroisms. Gladstone's impatient glance was largely on his own soul, and as the great Duchess of Marlborough said of James II., 'he wished to drag England to heaven with him.' Disraeli's gaze was on England and its future. As for a love of power, Lord Morley has told us how, when Gladstone disclaimed it at Hawarden, he nearly dropped from his chair. In Gladstone there was more of heat, in Disraeli of light; but the one's force was a solvent, the other's a cement. There will always be those who consider Gladstone's aims as the noblest, but of their attitudes in pursuit there can now be no doubt that Disraeli's was the loftier.

Indeed, if we reflect, Disraeli was more spiritual than

Gladstone, not only because of the latter's local ecclesiasticism, but because spirituality implies some relation to the eternal. Gladstone was a moralist on fire, Disraeli communed with the unseen, and Mr. Buckle will surprise many by this revelation of Disraeli's depths. Intellectually, Gladstone's encyclopædic mind ignored human nature, and his sympathy was with causes. He could not vie with one armed *cap-à-pie* with world feeling and world outlook. Both were eloquent, but Disraeli depended less on eloquence than Gladstone, who enlisted passion more than imaginative intellect. Moreover Gladstone was destitute of humour. Had he owned a spark of it he would have been saner. And had he been at all imaginative he could not have chased academical chimæras with such a papal infallibility. Gladstone, who blended Scotland, Liverpool and Oxford, aired a more ethical earnestness, but Disraeli's though deep-seated was less accessible. Solemnity is not necessarily seriousness, and Gladstone's gravity often upset Disraeli's.

When Gladstone brought forward his headstrong Irish Resolutions, he counted on Disraeli's quick resignation; but Disraeli set the precedent that the constitutional course was to wait awhile, and then, if necessary, dissolve. He was in close collaboration with the Queen, who relied on his sympathetic support and approved of the policy which he tabulated after Gladstone's first resolution had been carried. Disraeli recognised that the Irish Church needed reform, but Gladstone's impetuosity admitted of no scope for reconstruction. He further indignantly protested against the allotment of Church plunder to 'secular purposes.' 'A secular purpose,' he urged, 'is always a job,' and 'so far as history can guide me I have 'never found that Churches are plundered, except to establish or 'enrich oligarchies.'

To all Church appointments Disraeli gave anxious attention—and some offence at one time by politically favouring the Low Church, though the High Church, apart from ritualism, was much more congenial to him. He certainly made a strategical mistake in not promoting Wilberforce to the primacy. During his second premiership, he once asked Lord Salisbury to find him some eligible High Churchman who was not 'a 'damned fool,' but Lord Salisbury himself had to confess that he could not. The mistake made in ruling out Wilberforce

was repeated in a quite different sphere by an exceptional lack of prescience. Berlin was now being watched in view of Prussia's secret war preparations, of which Disraeli was well aware. But the Rothschilds gave him to understand that Prussia would reduce her army if only France would follow suit. So he was content to believe that the inevitable struggle might be avoided, or would at least be postponed.

We have seen that Gladstone had united 'the Reds and 'the Rads.' Disraeli's close conferences with the Queen had incensed both. Both Bright and Lowe lost all sense of decency in two attacks which were classically rebuked.

The polls proved unexpectedly disastrous. Nine months of place without power were past, and Disraeli who saw no public advantage in remaining, resigned. He was now the actual leader of his party, and Lord Derby's death in the following October left his dominion supreme. Disraeli's short space of premiership had not been void of positive measures, including the Corrupt Practices Bill, remedying a gross injustice, and those approaches towards a national education which had engaged him even before he had entered the House. He also abolished the scandal of public executions. Above all he dared the Liberal wrath by strengthening the forces. Moreover he saw the success of the derided Abyssinian Expedition in the cause of international right when 'the standard of 'St. George floated over the mountains of Rasselas.'

For the next five years Disraeli was out of place but virtually in power, despite the covert schisms and open mutinies which Mr. Buckle details—intrigues of the back scenes which Disraeli parried by offering to sit below the gangway. His headship (on Bolingbroke's model) of 'Her Majesty's Opposition' was no phrase. The horizon was dark, but he 'could turn diseases 'into commodity.' He set himself to re-educate the country, to win over Lord Salisbury, whom he gradually turned from a girding colleague into an attached admirer. He had to meet the allegiance of mistrustful aristocrats who came to recognise that here was no fantastic upstart but an aristocrat of an older world who transcended their conventions. They were growing to realise that the brilliance which some deemed flashy was but the glitter on strong deep waters, while his management of a now great party proved wonderful. All

along he was the chief actor in a drama which he himself had composed.

Amid the rumblings of Irish rebellion Gladstone brought in his Irish Land Bill. It conceded a good thing in the worst because the weakest way. Gladstone had refused to follow Bright's wise suggestion of peasant proprietorship, but insisted on a revolutionary break of the personal ties between landlord and tenant. Disraeli appealed not only to Conservatives but to the Whigs, now led by a Peelite transformed into a new Radical. In a speech of 'extraordinary prescience' he predicted the whole resulting chaos of agrarian crime, and showed that a reckless policy of reform by robbery would shake loyalty and breed a civil war. Not in vain had he insisted in 1844 on 'a strong executive.' Reform was imperative, but it was the manner of the reform—its blind surrender, its abstract yet angry nature—that was subversive.

A few months later the Prussian thunderbolt burst. On 16th July 1870 Disraeli dined with the Duc d'Aumale, and he wrote to Lord Stanhope that the occasion fitted a 'curious and 'interesting moment.'

'It was not wonderful that my host should be somewhat excited. It is an important break in the existence of himself and his brother colonists. One of the guests however did not think so, and said they were forgotten. . . . We shall see. Nobody is forgotten when it is convenient to remember him.'

That meant Disraeli's discernment of France's defeat and the chance in the *débâcle* of a royalist return. As regards England's position he still suspected the third Napoleon, and stood firm for neutrality. But he pointed out that our neutrality must be armed. And just as in the Transatlantic war he had at once perceived America's emergence as a world Power, so in the Franco-Prussian conflict he descried 'the German 'Revolution' which would create a 'new world' of deranged balance. Later on he favoured some early approaches to Bismarck, though his heart was far more with France than with Prussia. How false has been the myth that the Queen was pro-German appears very distinctly when Mr. Buckle reaches the later developments in the Near East. Europe had hardly time to recover breath before France was in the dust, and the Commune again equally prostrate. Disraeli was well

aware of the secret pact in 1868 between Napoleon and Bismarck about Belgium, and Belgium was the key to England's immunity from invasion.

This was the year of 'Lothair.' It forms at once a mirror of the aristocrats' apogee, an indictment of the secret societies, whose conspiracies he had long watched, and an exposure of papal finesse. 'Rome and the Reds' is its refrain. Half sarcastic, half romantic, it also gives us a satirical sort of society *Æneid*. But it is much more than this. Just as 'Tancred' is an allegorical fairy tale, so 'Lothair' holds a deep inner spiritual significance. Mr. Buckle seems to us quite right in singling out Paraclete's utterances. Philosophy only tangles the truths of the Bible. Man's destiny hangs on faith even more than fate, but 'there is no happiness without action.' It is for Lothair's soul that the contending forces fight. Neither Manning nor Newman resented Disraeli's handling of Rome, while eight years onwards the latter paid a fine tribute to his vision and sincerity.

Disraeli's purpose was now to give free rope to the premier's petulance while he also advised his followers to let Gladstone have the initiative. He himself spoke seldom, and stood aloof in his first paces up the steep and stony hill of opposition. He declared himself fully however when Gladstone tore up the Black Sea Treaty, and also on the *Alabama* affair, impugning the first as flagrant, and in the second counselling 'direct and friendly' application to Washington. Nor did Gladstone refuse praise to his 'patriotic and discreet treatment' of American differences. This emergence in emergencies was quickly followed by acute criticism on minor measures, and in fine he showed that Gladstone was now living 'in a blaze of apology.' He had never courted the crowd, though he was soon to seize the moment for two signal proclamations of policy. Yet he had not lost ground by reticence. As so often in a leadership by 'aliens'—witness Augustus, Alberoni, Napoleon—it was becoming felt that his spirit was more essentially national than the sophistries of his rival. Disraeli met with popular acclaim at his second inauguration as Lord Rector of Glasgow University—the occasion of his deliverance on the spiritual nature of man—and he was loudly cheered on his way to the thanksgiving service for the Prince of Wales's recovery. Gladstone's 'heroic'

legislation was already on the wane, as more and more it identified itself with that of the old seceding 'Adullamites'; while the spasms of his policy were only matched by those of his pamphlets, which made Disraeli wonder how 'so consummate 'an orator could be so cumbersome when he wielded the pen.' But it should not be forgotten that twice at least Disraeli defended him against these abstract supporters—once when he reproved the 'spouters of sedition,' and again in a splendid passage which poured scorn on their craven disloyalty. This chivalry distinguished the whole of Disraeli's career and extended to the lowest as well as to the highest.

The ice of reserve had melted. His Manchester and Crystal Palace speeches of 1872—perhaps the most creative of all his pronouncements—sounded the authoritative notes of the new Conservatism. Social reform, *Sanitas Sanitatum, Imperium et Libertas*, Colonial consolidation, prestige without aggressiveness, the dignity of England—these were their message, the vision of one for whom history was alive. Every one remembers their great flights and that classical simile of the Government as 'a range of exhausted volcanoes.' But not every one associates with his practical prediction of colonial needs and some 'Metropolitan' Council to voice them those two fine speeches of 1863 and 1866 that also urged colonial representation. Even then he called England 'the metropolis of a Colonial Empire.' Above all he laid stress on the social reforms which, ere the Eastern question intercepted them, he forwarded by more than twenty important measures, advocating a human as well as a humane relation between Capital and Labour; while, later, at the Guildhall he dwelt on the proud position of the English artisan. His policy involved 'the state of the dwellings of the 'people, the moral consequences of which are not less considerable than the physical.' 'It involved the employment of some 'of the chief elements of Nature—air, light, and water—the 'regulation of their industries, the inspection of their toil, the 'purity of their provisions.' And it touched upon 'all the means 'by which you may wean them from habits of excess and 'brutality.' Mr. MacDonald, one of the first real Labour leaders to enter Parliament, said that Disraeli had done more to benefit the people in ten years than the Liberals in fifty. 'Sybil' had not been written in vain, though some who cite it without

insight conveniently forget that it traverses organised tyranny in every shape and never contemplates any cosmopolitan socialism. He wanted some counteraction to the gospel of cheapness. 'Nothing is so expensive,' he once wrote, 'as a vicious population.'

There followed the Ballot Bill which, despite his disapproval, Disraeli strategically refrained from vehemently opposing; while through his own achievement in passing a long overdue Bill of Rating Reform by a big majority he secured success. This conquest however was not pressed. He still waited for the country itself to demand a dissolution. By the spring of 1873 Gladstone's Irish University Bill yielded him his triumph.

'You have had,' he exclaimed, 'five years of it. You have threatened every corporation and endowment in the country. You have examined into everybody's affairs. You have criticised everybody's profession and vexed every trade. No one is certain of his property and no one knows what duties he may have to perform to-morrow.'

Gladstone could see that the country was tired at length of busyboding instead of business, but he wanted to force Disraeli into forming a doomed administration. Into that snare Disraeli was not to be lured, and with difficulty in conference with his colleagues, with ease in conference with the Queen, he established the precedent which Gladstone himself was to follow—that under all the circumstances of the resigner's majority it was his duty to await a general election. After a time the country disrelished what Disraeli styled 'the stale remainder-biscuit of 'an effete Liberalism,' and in January 1874 it was thrilled by a sudden announcement that at length Gladstone would appeal to the constituencies.

Jowett, a warm admirer, once dwelt on Disraeli's 'pluck and power of face.' That self-control was tried to the utmost by the desolating death of his wife which happened on 15th December, a week before his sixty-eighth birthday. 'I am totally unable to meet the catastrophe,' he told his trusted Philip Rose. Among the myriad letters that he found among her papers was a most pathetic one of 1856 when she had thought she was dying. It runs as follows:—

'My own dear Husband,—If I should depart this life before you, leave orders that we may be buried in the same grave at whatever

distance you may die from England. And now God bless you, my kindest, dearest! You have been a perfect husband to me! Be put by my side in the same grave! And now farewell my dear Dizzy. Do not live alone, dearest. Some one I earnestly hope you may find as attached to you as your own devoted Mary Anne.'

She knew that he preferred solitude to everything but sympathy. Placed on the pinnacle of his hopes, he was to confide that he had reached the acme of power and 'tasted the deepest and 'sweetest affections of the heart.' He felt now and said that he had 'no home.'

By the close of 1873 things quickened to a head. Disraeli had issued his 'Bath letter,' the epitome of the Government's 'plundering and blundering' (a phrase of Bolingbroke's), while in a fresh speech about Ireland he unmasked conspiracy under the 'visor of Home Rule.' So great was his success at the polls that it came as a bombshell to both parties. His majority of over sixty-four distanced Peel's in 1841 and Gladstone's in 1868—'larger,' wrote the Queen, 'than any since the days of Pitt.' His course lay clear before him and, ere its end, he was to achieve the Imperial dreams of 'Contarini Fleming,' and most of the social visions and ambitions of his earliest novels. At the age of seventy it amounted to a new career. 'I am only 'truly great in action,' had been a piece of the self-knowledge committed to his early diaries. 'I live for power and the 'affections' was to be one of his confessions to Lady Bradford. Mr. Buckle will scarcely have forgotten that, in a youthful letter to his sister, Disraeli asked how she would like Lady Chesterfield for a sister-in-law. In his old age he actually begged her to be his wife—'the follies of the wise,' a mere cynic might murmur. But it was ever to Lady Bradford that he poured out his heart even more than his mind. Such an audience was from the first a need of his nature. What would we have given to have had her replies!

The spirit of his whole final teaching is to be found in his Glasgow speech of the previous year.

'If it be true (he urged) that an aristocracy distinguished merely by wealth must perish from satiety, so I hold it equally true that a people who recognise no higher aim than physical enjoyment must become selfish and enervated. Under such circumstances the supremacy of race which is the key of history will assert itself. Some human progeny, distinguished by bodily vigour or masculine intelli-

gence, or by both qualities, will assert their superiority, and conquer a world which deserves to be enslaved. It will then be found that our boasted progress has only been an advancement in a circle. But . . . the spiritual nature of man is stronger than codes or institutions, and no legislation can last which does not flow from that fountain. . . . As time is divided into day and night, so religion rests on the Providence of God and the responsibility of man. . . . He who has a due sense of his relations to God is best qualified to fulfil his duties to man. . . .'

Disraeli believed that the best path to human perfectibility lay in not presupposing it. Religion for him was a divine relationship, not a theological scheme. And it formed a part of his courage. 'He feared nobody but God,' once wrote Lady John Manners.

Such were his lessons. His practical aims are best crystallised in the farewell address to his constituents:—

'Not insensible to the principle of progress, I have endeavoured to reconcile change with that respect for tradition which is one of the main elements of our social strength, and in external affairs I have endeavoured to develop and strengthen our Empire, believing that a combination of achievement and responsibility elevates the character and the condition of a people.'

His Government was a strong one, and became even stronger as events purged it. Cairns was the Lord Chancellor, Derby the Foreign Secretary; the Indian Secretary was Lord Salisbury; the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Northcote, who was eventually chosen to lead the House. The miscellaneous Liberals were doubly distressed by Gladstone's temporary retirement—'the wrath, the unappeasable wrath of Achilles.' In stage parlance he had taken his benefit, and he was to repeat the performance ere the curtain fell. Disraeli could now tell Lady Chesterfield: 'I begin to feel the reality of power.' But illnesses were incessant. 'I could hardly keep up the battle-dore,' he writes to Lady Bradford; 'the shuttlecock indeed frequently fell.' His humour however remained undaunted—'. . . last night was most amusing' (the debate was on the educational standard of outdoor pauper children), 'Gladstone stagey, overdone, and full of false feeling and false taste, 'trying to assume the position of Scipio Africanus accused by a 'country which he had saved.' But what with Smollett and Whalley the whole affair 'was a provincial Hamlet between 'clown and pantaloons.'

Measure after measure popularised his views. Tait's Public Worship Act regulating ritualism—'the Mass in masquerade'—the Artisans' Dwellings Bill, and the like. Hartington—his shrewd and moderate 'Harty-Tarty'—now led the Opposition, and when Gladstone returned in a rush from 'Elba' it was to run away. From all quarters came admiring allegiance, and neither health nor anxiety deterred Disraeli from incessant attendance, sitting sometimes for twelve hours at a stretch and bantering absentee Ministers as off to watering-places—'God 'knows what perhaps of Lethe.' His old age was a marked triumph of nervous energy over physical infirmity, and in 1873 at Weston he followed the hounds for over four hours, then 'reeling exhausted from the saddle.'

But the wraith of that Eastern question which had long been the scarecrow of Empire was now to re-loom. Disraeli had prepared to confront it by long-matured steps. The acquisition of the Suez Canal shares, the proclamation of the Queen as Empress of India, the gradual veto on Russian aggression, were all the dramatic scenes of a single policy, carefully conceived and skilfully executed. That Great Britain should rise to her 'awful' responsibilities became his prepossession. As regards the Suez Canal shares, we are now able to recognise not only the foresight, but the promptness of the stroke whereby a bankrupt khedive—the prey of rival financiers—was made to supply a guarded outpost and a waterway citadel for our Indian Empire. His 'There you have it, madam,' to the Queen, his determined defence in the face of shortsighted reproofs, the originality of his daring, come into complete perspective.

So too his imaginative grasp of the Indian mind by imperialising the personal ruler of a Moslem world. His speech of vindication, perhaps the most literary of his efforts, is steeped in that Elizabethan spirit which led him to write of the Queen as 'the Fairy.' The Prince of Wales's visit to India was another calculated preparation, and all his anti-Russianism was to secure and loyalise India. 'The East,' he wrote, 'hangs wonderfully 'together and is mesmeric,' while in another passage he foreshadows our alliance with Japan. Statecraft, as a rule, is either mechanical or sentimental. Disraeli's was neither. It was the art of a great musician, playing on every note of a

great organ. Nor, literally, should it be forgotten that his own voice had a corresponding timbre and diapason.

'When I entered political life,' he says, 'there were three Great Powers in danger—the Grand Signior of the Ottomans, the Pope of Rome, and the Lord Mayor of London. The last will survive a long time, but the fall of France has destroyed the Pope and will ultimately drive the Turk from Europe.' It was just this latter contingency that for Europe's own sake and for 'the interests of Great Britain abroad,' he now set his face to prevent. The problem was great, its misconstructions were preposterous. It was to be presented almost as if the Black Sea were a Christian and the Bosphorus a Jew. The Balkan States, composed of clashing creeds and races and with memories of a remote greatness, were being used by Russia for her Eastern ambitions. Austria was her rival. Turkey, enfeebled alike in finance, defences, and dynasty, offered a tempting target for the Pan-Slavic League. And yet Britain, as Disraeli proclaimed, repeating Bolingbroke, was 'a Mediterranean Power' that could not afford to let the White Bear devour the Black Sheep. An alliance between Russia, Austria, and Germany might overwhelm Great Britain, France, and Italy under the pretext of ideals. Looking back on the Berlin Congress in a letter of 1880, Disraeli thus wrote to Drummond Wolff:

'Next to making a tolerable settlement for the Porte, our great object was to break up and permanently prevent the alliance of the three Empires, and I maintain there never was a general diplomatic result more completely effected. Of course it does not appear on the protocols, it was realised by personal influence alone, both with Andrassy and Bismarck.'

Mr. Buckle well points out that these 'pregnant sentences' refute Gladstone's charge that Disraeli broke up the concert of Europe—a concert by the way then painfully out of tune and without a directing conductor. He resolved that the conductor must be England; and Mr. Buckle might have urged that in 1878 Disraeli expressly wrote that he wanted to prevent any revival of a 'Holy Alliance.' Nor in appraising his vizier-like tenacity should it be forgotten that in 1876 he even meditated retirement. It was the superb cause of England and her sovereign that buoyed up an iron will and an earnest nonchalance

though their bodily sheath was wearing away. All along his high purpose was only sustained by a nervous vitality fed by that excitement which in one passage he associates with religion, and in another with the need in due season for running risks, 'without which life would be as dull as death.'

After 1870 Russia, with Bismarck's connivance, embarked on her escapade of expansion. Hitherto Bismarck had treated Britain as negligible. In July 1875 an insurrection broke out in Herzegovina with which the degenerate Ottomans could not cope. Disraeli—his eyes on Russia—at once deprecated any outside dictation, while Bismarck watched for some breach between Austria and Russia which might give him a vent for interference. It has not been enough realised that from the first it was a race between 'the honest broker' and 'the old Jew.' Disraeli told the nation that he rested on the Treaty of Paris, even as modified by the Treaty of London. Yet in all the tentatives towards pacification England was left out in the cold. Then Austria stepped in with the 'Andrassy Note' propounding impracticable Turkish reforms. Disraeli refused any whole-hearted adhesion. He counted on Bismarck's ultimate support, and when the Turks showed signs of concession he would grant them no more than he would have done to Russia; he besought Derby not to be 'plus Arabe que l'Arabie.' Next, Bismarck made the doubtful overtures of his imperious Berlin Memorandum, which promulgated proposals far in advance of Andrassy's.

Still Disraeli waited. He proved both its requirements and our exclusion to be mockeries. It would be better for Turkey even to surrender Bosnia and Herzegovina than to accept such demands. If she agreed, *he* was ready to recommend an armistice between her and her provinces, to be followed by a European Conference based on the *status quo*. In Parliament, he declared, as he had urged in 1866, that it was not a wise thing for a country like England to moot proposals which it had not the means to effect. 'I have myself no doubt,' he wrote, 'that if we are stiff we shall gain all our points, because 'no one is really adverse to them except Russia.' When Abdul Aziz the Unconscionable was deposed, Murad was unexpectedly recognised by the Powers. We had not yielded to outside pressure, and Disraeli had thus gained the first point in his

waiting game. England no longer stood alone and Bismarck began to see that Disraeli meant business.

A few words must interrupt the thread, for on the 11th of August 1876 ill-health compelled Disraeli to take his seat—in a striking scene—in the House of Lords as if to the manner born. He bade farewell to the Commons with a pang, reciprocated both by friend and foe. His last speech there was on the Turkish question. The secret of his peerage had been well kept, and almost unobserved he stole from the scene of his dreams and devotions. As Earl of Beaconsfield he may descend to history, but in this review Disraeli he shall remain.

The first act of this drama had been one of wise waiting. The second was one of public decision. We sent our fleet to Turkish waters for the safeguard of reforms, the defence of treaties, and the preservation of peace. The third act was to be one of 'conditional neutrality' till Russia should show her claws. It is impossible here to disclose the fresh details of Disraeli's daring and prudence. He made it perfectly clear that the safety of Constantinople was the condition of our neutrality, that 'our strength was on the sea.' Before Russia declared war, he restrained the Queen's restiveness to dispense with Derby, nor did Salisbury's short-lived resignation or 'Twitters'-Carnarvon's exit affect his purpose. Disraeli remained the *chef d'orchestre* through all the successive tangles—Gortchakoff's humiliating proposals, rather than accept which the Queen would have laid down her Crown; the Provisional Protocol; the abortive conference of Constantinople, which only served to unmask Russia, and the ruinous Treaty of San Stefano. He resolved that Bulgaria should be divided, that Russia must be precluded not only from the Ægean and Mediterranean, but from the regions of the Oxus and the Indus. His eyes were alike on the Black Sea and the Caspian. He sent Layard to Constantinople, as in 1875 he had sent Lytton to India, with the express purview of this contingency. He took the precaution of second strings by understandings with Turkey and Austria, and he realised, after Turkey's peace with Serbia, but before Russia's pact at Adrianople, before Plevna fell, that the Czar would risk a second campaign rather than abandon her ambitions. Already he projected some point of vantage in the Mediterranean and some call to the Indian troops. Above

all he waited for, though never on, Bismarck. The hour struck, and the fourth act—that of action—opened. Our fleet steamed up the Dardanelles, the Indians were summoned to Malta. Russia paused on the threshold of her prey. At length Bismarck came into complete line, the Berlin Congress was convened, and Europe breathed again.

The *dénouement* is a proverb. Disraeli, jaded but indomitable, went to Berlin as his own ambassador. His personal influence affected everything. He captured Bismarck, charmed Andrassy, and bested Gortchakoff—that Count Fosco who tried on every trick of bluff and chicane. Gortchakoff hoped to conspire with Bismarck, and from the first withstood any cleft Bulgaria as well as Disraeli's maintenance of the Turkish claim to guard the boundary fastnesses that severed its autonomous from its protected portion. He had almost gained Bismarck's adhesion when Disraeli ordered a special train homeward. He even underwent the ordeal of smoking nearly two hours with Bismarck to sound and sober him. Then Gortchakoff besought him not to give the name of Eastern Roumelia to Southern Bulgaria—a national affront. Disraeli stood courteously firm, though it was 'really painful to refuse anything to such a nice 'benevolent old fox.' He detected the diplomatist's double maps.

The main points were soon gained. The lopping of Turkey's unwieldy limbs; the surveillance of reforms for the Christian populations; the preclusion of Russia from India and Persia by the barriers of Alashkerd and Bayazid, and from Asia Minor by the annexation of Cyprus; the due consideration of Russia's claims as conqueror through concessions which comprised Batoum—for throughout Disraeli never wanted to cramp Russia's legitimate expansion (there was room in defined spheres for us both)—the appeal to Greece's patience: all this—or as Disraeli would phrase it 'and all that'—finds thrilling expression in Mr. Buckle's vivid account of a negotiation, concluded within a month, yet bristling with importance, incident, and intrigue. The 'Northern Alliance' had been 'broken up.'

Nor was Disraeli's social ascendancy less marked. He was hailed as a hero of romance. The pale, silent, imposing figure observed and coloured everybody and everything. One trivial instance may be mentioned because it probably suggested the

theme of his unfinished novel. The cultivated Madame de Schleinitz told him that she was an enthusiastic Wagnerite and pessimist. Of Bismarck, too, we get the dictum, 'So long as the English are devoted to racing, socialism has no chance with you.' The man of iron had long admired Disraeli's novels. They became the general rage during the Congress episode, nor could the English booksellers satisfy the demand. It may here be added that the Congress itself realised not only the dream of it in 'Contarini,' but the hypothesis in Disraeli's Schleswig speech; while Cyprus, as a part of policy, figures not only in 'Tancred,' as Mr. Buckle remarks, but also in that same 'Psychological Romance.'

On Disraeli's triumphant return we need not dwell: the spectacle is familiar. Mr. Buckle however has made it known that the Queen wished to bestow upon him not only the accepted Garter but a dukedom or a marquise, while Joseph Cowan, the Radical, averred that the nation owed him another Blenheim. A word however may be given to 'Peace with Honour.' Mr. Buckle, who has well tracked 'Imperium et Libertas' to Bacon rather than to Tacitus, has forgotten that the former phrase comes from a speech of Sheridan's, repeating a variant of Bolingbroke's. From Bolingbroke his boyish memory absorbed much, including an expression in an early novel about 'the swell of soul.' The phrase which was to stamp his last warning letter to the Duke of Marlborough about Ireland—that celebrated appeal to all men of 'light and leading'—was called fantastic at the time, and termed un-English by the Rigbys and Podsnaps. It comes of course from Burke's 'Reflections on the French Revolution,' and is only worthy of emphasis as proving how much that is constantly cited as exotic in Disraeli was really English to the core.

Would that we could linger over the sequels—his Indian policy of scientific frontiers, his South African policy of confederation. He acclaimed the genius of the young Roberts at Peiwar; he tested the talent of the young Wolseley; he sheltered the disobediences of Sir Bartle Frere; and humorously he deprecated the doctrinaire interlopings of Froude. But bad trade and bad harvests, the renewal of Russia's sinister designs against India—these and many more factors brought about a swing

of the pendulum. The Irish spectre reappeared, and Disraeli's last utterance as Prime Minister was to forecast and to forearm. Gladstone, who had once more renounced the world, scoured Midlothian in a whirlwind of invective. Disraeli rarely raised his voice. By the spring of 1880 he dissolved, but the polls decided against him. Disraeli accepted his defeat like a man and a gentleman, though omens of a demagogic democracy made him fear for the future. The Queen was inconsolable—almost as inconsolable as at his imminent death. She insisted on a perpetual, affectionate, and informal correspondence with the man whom she loved, and on whom she leaned. He went about Hughenden. He dreamed and suffered and wrote—‘Endymion,’ a book of memories, and the fragment which Mr. Buckle has printed. But great debates required his aid and example, and he braced his failing frame for efforts which had the appearance of ease. He was surrounded by devoted friends, and it was with deep feeling that he procured a peerage for his beloved secretary. To the close he remained gentle, considerate, courageous, and Lord Rowton, who hurried home from abroad, has recorded the last week with tears in his voice. Disraeli had no illusions; he knew that he was going. When he entered the great silence, one of his most intimate colleagues well wrote that a great power had passed from the earth.

Disraeli's letters are the best since Byron's, and something must be added about his correspondents. The Queen's letters to him are the most affectionate that any sovereign has ever written to a Minister. She was inspired and inspiring. The correspondence between Disraeli and his colleagues ranks high among State papers and is distinguished by a sympathy with their personal positions and characters. His epistles to the Ladies Bradford and Chesterfield find their sole parallel in Horace Walpole's to the Berries. Throughout, Disraeli needed the confiding influence of women. It began with his sister, and their mutual devotion recalls that of the Macaulays. There followed his devotion to Lady Londonderry, and above all to his own wife. He believed that ‘women are the priestesses of ‘predestination,’ and his letters to them are dramatic diaries.

Even our hasty survey will have proved that he owned a diviner's rod. There were of course exceptions, as in the case

of Italy's regeneration, but they were very few and were not those of diagnosis. Although even in 1834 he had foreseen the dangers of *unlimited* democracy—though, too, there are fears and forebodings towards the close—he hardly ever realised the possibility of a day when the division of property rather than a distribution of service would or could engross any servants of the Crown. But already in the 'fifties he had dreaded some curious league between the mob and the millionaire. Of his capacities enough has been hinted. Above all things a Constitutional Premier, his unconventional action was often cramped by formal restrictions, and he would have proved an ideal first Minister of an absolute monarch. It was well for England that he united the psychologies of East and West, and that in all his deliverances he argued from his opponent's standpoint to his own conclusions. This perhaps might have been pointed out by Mr. Buckle. But he loyally succeeds Mr. Monypenny who, with all respect, was not devoid of some misperceptions which sometimes almost give the semblance of a rustic dazed by the lightning.

Of his faults he was perfectly conscious—the over-intensities, the dualities, sometimes the bizarreness, which we have shadowed. He was too proud to be vain, and if in a sense conceited was never boastful. It was a sheer sense of power and of pleasure in its dedication that impelled him. He was a sincere actor and artist, a plastic moulder of material. As for the taunt of 'adventurer,' in the common sense it is absurd. He sprang from a cultivated stock with distinguished surroundings, and he embarked on politics from an overmastering instinct and against the wishes of all his family. In the best sense he was aristocratic to the bone. But an adventurer in the right sense of unlimited aspiration, of a supreme romantic in the grand style, he most certainly was. Imagination, ideas, and personality were his being, and these abide behind the veil of time and of existence. It is not the abstract personalities—the men of no world—who can propagate their essence for posterity. It is the men of high imagination and forceful will who compel and surpass the future.

WALTER SICHEL.

THE PILGRIM FATHERS

1. **History of England.** By S. R. GARDINER. Vol. iv., 1621-23. Longmans, Green, & Co. 1896.
2. **The England and Holland of the Pilgrims.** By the late H. M. DEXTER and his son M. DEXTER. Constable & Co. 1906.
3. **The Pilgrim Fathers.** By W. COCKSHOTT. Methuen & Co. 1909.
4. **The Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers.** Introduced by J. MASEFIELD. J. M. Dent & Sons. 1910.
5. **The Pilgrims and their History.** By R. G. USHER. Macmillan & Co. 1918.
6. **Venturers for the Kingdom.** By H. G. WOOD. Hodder & Stoughton. 1920.
7. **John Robinson.** By W. H. BURGESS. Williams & Norgate. 1920.

WHEN society was divided by horizontal, not by vertical lines, certain classes travelled more widely in the Middle Ages than they do to-day. A medieval student might spend a year at Oxford, another at Paris, and a third at Bologna. The world became nationalised at the end of the fifteenth century, and, in spite of the grand geographical discoveries of that wonderful age, the outlook of the citizen in some respects contracted. The movements of the migrants took a wider flight. It was no longer the custom to wander from one part of Europe to another: men began to follow the steps of Columbus. They went away, but, unlike the ordinary medieval traveller, they returned not, with the result that the imagination of the old continent ceased to expand. Take an instance. Shakespeare lived at the time when the first rosy flush of the British Empire was beginning to dawn and he does not see it. In spite of the epoch-making discoveries of Vasco da Gama and Christopher Columbus, he could still write that England was 'that utmost corner of the west.'* He was wrong, quite wrong, for the discovery of America completely altered her position to Europe. Formerly she had been at the edge of affairs: now she was in the very heart of them.

* King John, Act II., Scene i.

Homer compiled a list of the ships which sailed for Troy. No poet has worthily chronicled the spirit of the pioneer settlers of America. Camoens wrote his 'Lusiad' to commemorate the voyage of Vasco da Gama around the coast of Africa. Why did not Shakespeare see what Camoens saw? Had he read Hakluyt as well as Holinshed, the whole future of England would have been different. It was to the literature of travel and navigation that the impulse of exploration was due. It was not prompted by the inspiration that the dramatist could so well have given it. This is all the more surprising, for an American scholar, Professor C. M. Gayley, proves that Shakespeare enjoyed personal intercourse with the makers of Virginia. All the explorers of Elizabethan England were devoted students of books. It is sufficient to instance Sir Walter Raleigh. It is John Cabot's son, Sebastian, who suggested to Hakluyt to form his famous encyclopædia of travellers' reports. Richard Hakluyt, preacher and sometime student of Christ Church, Oxford, was disgusted to hear the sneers of foreigners at our backwardness in exploring the world. In 1582 he began to publish his *magnum opus*, 'The Principal Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the 'English Nation.' It was not till 1624 that Samuel Purchas published his 'Hakluytus Posthumus, or, Purchas His Pilgrimes.' The latter Shakespeare could not have read. The former he could, and what would one not give to be able to peruse his account of such a bead-roll of men as the two Cabots, Frobisher, John Davis, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and Sir Francis Drake himself? It was not really till the days of Sir John Seeley in history and Rudyard Kipling in fiction that the popular mind was arrested and affected by the imperial idea. The Manchester School, which attached little value to the connexion between the mother country and her colonies, could never have acquired importance in the middle of the nineteenth century had Shakespeare risen to the height of the opportunity which presented itself. The limitations of genius are strange. Take another instance. Sir Walter Scott lived in an age when one of the severest of conflicts was waging, one too in which he was warmly interested, as Lockhart's 'Life' abundantly proves. Yet he never wrote a line on the veterans of the Peninsular War, who were surely as worthy of commemoration as the Cavalier or the Covenanter.

There was then a narrowing in our outlook as the result of the Reformation. There was also an increasing insularity in our national character, and the forms of religion inevitably suffered from it. The Sunday of Elizabeth's reign was a continental one: games and sports were universally played. The Sunday of James I.'s reign, in spite of the king's efforts, had become the Sabbath in the course of a single generation, an unprecedented change in the customs of the people. This change is all the more amazing when we remember that the attitude of the Puritan Fathers was altogether different. When John Knox visited John Calvin at Geneva on a Sunday, he found his austere colleague playing bowls on the green.

Uniformity in Church and State was the ideal of Elizabeth. This uniformity was vital, for diversity ruined Church and State. Elizabeth was threatened simultaneously abroad and at home. Abroad, Pius V. and Philip II. were organising the forces of the Counter-Reformation against her, and abroad she was obliged to support the Calvinists by aiding the Dutch against Philip II. and the Huguenots against the Guises. At home, she was compelled on the one hand to repress the Roman Catholics, and on the other to repress all formal attempts on the part of the Calvinists to leave the Church of England. The latter fell into two classes. There was the Puritan conforming Calvinist who desired to remain within the Church, trying to enforce his ideas on its members; there was the Puritan nonconforming Calvinist who believed in Presbyterianism or Independency as the divinely ordered system of Church Government, and disbelieved in Episcopacy and Church order. The individualism of the Independent called upon him to leave the Church of England. Its forms and its organisation stood between the soul and God: they prevented, in his view, a renewal of man's unending yearning for communion with God. The Reformation was to such a man primarily the affirmation of individuality. But to secure this right to the individual, the doctrinal system of the Church of England had largely to be swept away, and a new congregational system built on its ruins. The new spirit had to express itself in new forms, or rather in the absence of forms.

The nobility of the separatist ideal is evident, but how could it be realised without endangering the safety of both Church and State? The place Germany occupied in our eyes Spain

occupied at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century in the eyes of our forefathers. The Emperor Charles V., who was Spanish at heart, and his son, Philip II. of Spain, were figures looming large in the thoughts of all statesmen. The Armada of 1588 was only one stage in the quarrel between England and Spain or between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. There were several other Armadas after 1588, including the formidable one launched in 1596. Gondomar, Spanish ambassador at the court of James I., was as menacing as Marschall von Bieberstein at the court of George V. There was always the prospect of a war with Spain, which possessed the strongest army in Europe down to the fatal field of Rocroi in 1643. The religion of Philip II. of Spain seemed everywhere gaining ground. England was the only refuge of Protestantism and of freedom. To be untrue to England's king, to be in opposition to England's government, was to be on the side of the enemy. Conformity to the law, ecclesiastical just as much as civil, was the first duty of every good citizen and of every good Protestant. Nonconformist scruples were little short of base treachery.

The ideals of the separatist congregation and of the Church of England differed by worlds.

'The true apostolic churches (to use the words of John Robinson, the Pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers), having a true constitution, were gathered and constituted of such men and women as by the preaching of the gospel were made disciples, had faith and repentance wrought in them to the obtaining of the forgiveness of sins and promise of life eternal, and to sanctification and obedience. But the Church of England was not so gathered after popery, but on the contrary, without preaching of the gospel, and of men and women for the most part ignorant, faithless, impenitent, disobedient, to whom no promise of the forgiveness of sins and life eternal appertains: whereupon, the conclusion necessarily followeth that the constitution of the Church of England is not true or apostolic, but false, counterfeit, and apostatical.'*

The ideal of this Church in the year 1620 may best be stated in the language of S. R. Gardiner who, though he was not a member of it, yet saw that the separatist 'might have 'come in time to regard with reverence the large heartedness 'of a Church which refused to content herself with claiming

* 'Works of Robinson' (Ashton's edition), vol. ii., p. 96.

'as her children the pious and the devoted, but which announced, 'in the only way at that time possible to announce it, that the 'ignorant and the vicious, the publican and the harlot, were 'equally the object of her care with the wisest of her sons.' *

We are fortunate in possessing the incomparable fourth volume of Gardiner's *magnum opus*, which sets forth the background of the history of the Pilgrim Fathers in due relation to the movements of their age. Dr. Dexter devoted his life to an investigation of the doings of these men, and his book is a monument of skilful research. To another American writer, Dr. Usher, we owe the most illuminating volume yet written. It is pleasant to acknowledge our debt to American scholars for the light they shed on the sixteenth century, and here we cannot forget the able biography of Martin Luther which Dr. Preserved Smith, himself of Puritan descent, has written. Dr. Usher has explored the sources with thoroughness, and he presents his results in masterly fashion. Mr. Wood has written a meritorious work in which he attempts, and, in our judgment fails, to shake the conclusions at which Dr. Usher arrives. Mr. Burgess elucidates the life of John Robinson with care, bringing to light such new facts as the birthplace of his hero. He however ekes out the scanty facts bearing on Robinson's career by relating him too closely to the times in which he lived. Lastly, Miss Winnifred Cockshott gathers her material in modest and scholarly fashion, and has produced a book of greater value than her preface would lead the reader to suppose. She perhaps lays undue stress on the share taken by Holland in moulding the ideas of the pilgrims, who remained thoroughly English.

In the autumn of 1606 some fifty or sixty men and women separated themselves from what they regarded as that abomination of Antichrist, the Church of their native land, meeting at Scrooby, near York. They were few and obscure, too obscure to attract much attention from Church or State. Among these early separatists were William Bradford, William Brewster, and John Robinson. Bradford was only twenty-eight, but he was senior in years to many of his fellow worshippers. He was the historian of the group, and was one day to compile

* 'History of England,' vol. iv., p. 143.

his remarkable account 'Of Plimoth Plantation.' William Brewster and John Robinson had attended lectures in the University of Cambridge at a time when it was impregnated with Puritan teaching. Peter Baro, a Calvinist of outstanding importance, was Professor of Divinity, and William Perkins was among the lecturers. There were undergraduates of kindred spirit in such men as Greenwood and George Johnson, Penry and Udall. It is not certain that Brewster graduated. John Robinson however graduated, becoming Fellow of Corpus Christi.

Grosseteste, Wolsey, Wesley, Keble, and Newman are names on the bead-roll of Oxford religious movements which Cambridge cannot rival. Yet if Oxford is the home of great religious movements, Cambridge is no less the home of great religious men. Measured by the might of their achievement, it is difficult to exaggerate the widespread influence of Brewster and Robinson. The attractiveness and the integrity of Brewster were as significant as the scholarship and the modesty of Robinson. Brewster was a man of the world while Robinson was a man of learning. Their followers stood in danger from the State, but they stood in far more danger from the social ostracism of their neighbours. In 'New England's Memorial' Nathaniel Morton confesses that 'finding by experience they 'could not peaceably enjoy their liberty in their native country, 'without offence to others that were differently minded, they 'took up thoughts of removing themselves and their families 'into the Netherlands.'*

The removal to Holland took place in 1608, and they sojourned twelve years in their new home. Brewster and Robinson could not help feeling that their neighbours in England regarded their form of religion as a 'byword, a mock-ing-stock, and a matter of reproach.' Were they not actually asserting that their standard of religion was higher, far higher, than that of the Church? Brewster had been in Holland as a member of the household of William Davison, a diplomatist of some repute, and his thoughts naturally turned to the Dutch, who might be more friendly than his own countrymen: they could not well be more hostile. The Puritans, Brewster and Robinson felt, saw the light, but refused to follow it in its

* pp. 7, 8 (Masefield's edition).

completeness. The overwhelming majority of them accepted the Canons of 1606 and the Visitation Articles of 1605, and both were anathema to the separatists. The separatists had trusted that even in the Church there was a remnant, but this hope was now rudely taken from them. The Church of England was more unclean than ever, and the very air of the country seemed contaminated. Leyden afforded an asylum, and accordingly they set out in 1608.

The hypocrisy of the Puritan has been savagely satirised in the 'Tartuffe' of Molière and the 'Hudibras' of Butler. Yet no one can peruse the records of the family life of the Pilgrim Fathers in Holland or New England without realising that its members lived 'for ever in the Great Taskmaster's eye.' They laid emphasis on vocation in relation to daily occupation. The 'Saint's Rest' was in the world to come: in this he was to labour at his calling. Business became a sacred office in which it was a man's bounden duty to do his utmost *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*. The constant belief of young and old alike was that they lived in a world whose amusements were irreverent and irrelevant in the middle of life filled with awful duties. There was a shrinking from libertinage of thought and action as from shame and death. They were ascetic in the use of food, and they were reserved in speech. Such is the noble aspect of their family life.

There is however another aspect to the ideal they set before them. As Divine Providence overruled every act, there was nothing trivial, nothing beneath His attention, and there was certainly nothing beneath theirs. There was a want of proportion in their attitude to the minor duties of life. If they investigated the want of decorum in a man, they were every whit as anxious to criticise the dress of his wife. Take the case of Mrs. Thomasine Boys. She was a widow, and George Johnson's brother, Francis, was eager to marry her. George Johnson objected to the contemplated marriage on the ground that Mrs. Boys was a proud woman, and that her pride would give great offence to the brethren. Thereupon the widow promised that, if she married Francis, she would 'do as became 'his estate,'* the estate of a pastor. Her dress was so splendid

* George Johnson, 'Discourse,' p. 94.

that 'many of the saints were grieved.' George Johnson denounced her five gold rings, which she wore at once, her busks and her whalebones. He implored his brother to persuade her to exchange her schowish hat for a sober taffety or felt. Though the bride's hat was not 'so topishly set,' the congregation still continued to complain and she naturally turned 'very peert and coppet.' William Bradford sensibly points out that Mrs. Johnson bought her clothes with her own money, and that they were quite suitable to her condition.

The criticisms once more broke out. George Johnson charged his sister-in-law before a church council with the sin of using musk and with the wearing of a velvet hood and of a topish hat. The separatists assembled to discuss the knotty problem, Was the hat topish in nature? If not topish in nature, was it topish for a pastor's wife to wear? It is easy to understand the feelings of Mrs. Johnson when she burst out with the wish that she were a widow again. It is not nearly so easy to understand the position of George Johnson, fighting about the cut of clothes when he 'hath been kept sometimes two days and 'two nights together (in the Fleet prison) without any manner 'of substance; sometimes twenty nights together without any 'bedding save a straw mat; and as long without any change of 'linen; and all this sixteen months in the most dark and 'unwholesome rooms of the prison they could thrust them into; 'not suffering any of his friends to come unto him.'

The heated discussions on the clothes of Mrs. Francis Johnson proved contagious. For we find that there was an angry controversy between Hugh Broughton and Henry Ainsworth in 1605, as to whether Aaron's ephod consisted of silk or wool.

'There were more Disputes, Contests, and Quarrels amongst the few Brownists and other Independent Sectaries which resorted thither (*i.e.*, to Holland) the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's, King James the First's time, and so on, than among the whole Dutch Nation ever since they Reform'd: 'Tis unaccountable what impertinent controversies arose between them, even to the Colour of Aaron's Ephod, whether it were Blew or a Sea-green, which made an irreconcilable difference between their Pastors, and consequently the Flocks divided.'*

Broughton was a Hebrew scholar, and he contended that as the Jews considered silk to be unclean, Aaron's ephod was made

* W. Baron, 'Dutch Way of Toleration,' p. 10.

of wool. Ainsworth courteously disputed this view in letter after letter, but the only result of the correspondence was not to convince Broughton but to make him seriously angry.

From these matters, which no separatist regarded as trifling, we turn to such fundamental questions as the right of leaving the Church of England, which Bishop Joseph Hall vigorously attacked and which John Robinson no less vigorously defended. Ainsworth thrust to the one side the consideration of the texture of the garment Aaron wore, and analysed his conceptions of the Church, the eldership, and popular government. From the Puritan standpoint Nicholas Bernard had assaulted them. Replying to him, Ainsworth contends that

'the true church is a People called of God by the Gospel, from the world, unto the Communion or fellowship of his son Jesus Christ, in whom they are coupled and built together, to be the habitation of God by the spirit. More particularly, they that are called of God, and members of the church universal, are united and gathered into many churches or congregations, in several cities and countries: every (all) of which churches being joined together in the profession and practice of the Gospel of Christ, have his power and presence with them, and is to convene or come together in one, for the worship of God, and the performance of publick duties. Neither that ruling power of Christ, which the Puritans (whereby I suppose M. Bern(ard) meaneth the Christian reformed churches in other countries) say is in the Presbytery; do we say is in the multitude; for we acknowledge Christ to have ordained a Presbytery or Eldership, and that in every church; for to teach and rule them by his own word and laws; unto whom all the multitude, the members, the Saints, ought to obey and submit themselves, as the Scriptures teach. So then, for popular government (which Mr. Bern. would traduce us by) we hold it not; for if the multitude govern, then who shall be governed? Christian liberty (which all have) is one thing, the reins of government (which some have) is another thing.'

Ainsworth's views leant in the direction of those of John Calvin, whose followers favoured the ecclesiastical independence of the State. The Lutherans, and John Robinson with them, allowed the co-action of Church and State. Francis Johnson had been absorbed by the troubles of his wife's topish hat, but now he had to consider another aspect of government. The authority of the pastor, domestically and ecclesiastically, required to be strengthened. If it is the mark of a good judge to increase the jurisdiction of his court, it is also the mark of a good official to increase the scope of his office. At any

rate, Johnson advocated the increase of the power of the elder, a position which his elder, Daniel Studley, sympathetically took up. Studley disliked heartily any admission of the brethren to the control of the Church. Once when some fifteen members conferred against him, Studley indignantly exclaimed, 'Here was a beginning to tread the pathway unto 'popular government—the very bane to all good order in 'Church and Common weal.'*

In 1604 Francis Johnson had in conjunction with Henry Ainsworth written an 'Apology,' in which they laid down the idea that the power of excommunication lies in the body of the Church. In 1611 Johnson abandoned this view, arguing that he and his colleague had mistaken the mind of God. Now he claims that the word 'church' often means the Assembly of Elders; that Christ was speaking to the Jews, and that they would so understand it; that in the church here referred to women may speak, which they cannot do in the true Church; that to understand the church as the tribunal would involve excessive attention to tribes, and would not promote the good order of government; that in Israel by this word ('church' or 'congregation') was understood the Assembly of the Elders, and that the New Testament precepts should be construed by those of the Old; that the elders are the church's officers and their actions are its actions; that all the members cannot meet, excepting on the Lord's Day, when to settle controversies would not be proper; and, finally, that there is no Scriptural precept or example for excommunication by a church without officers.

The tone of the new book which Johnson wrote was in keeping with the attitude of John Calvin, and in Holland not a few adopted a similar point of view. Ainsworth however no longer saw quite eye to eye with Johnson. Though Ainsworth conceded very real power to the elders, he distinctly held that the membership of a Church conferred rights—important rights—in its government. Yet even he takes occasion to point out that 'we give not to the people government, as before I have showed, but a right and power to

* An advertisement concerning a book lately published by Christopher Lawne, p. 122.

'observe and do all the commandments of Christ, touching 'his prophetic, priestly, and kingly office, by the Elders 'teaching, guiding and governing of them in the Lord.'* In a debate with John Smith, the notorious se-Baptist, he continued the discussion, explaining that 'the Elders are to 'teach and rule the Church by Christ's own word and laws, 'as I have expressed. And herein I presuppose both that 'the Elders will teach and rule according unto godliness, and 'the people will obey the godly doctrines and directions of 'their Elders, without mislike or discontentment.'† He goes on to state that their Twenty-Third Article allows the congregation to choose and ordain its minister, to depose and even to excommunicate him. He endorses the Twenty-Fourth Article, which lodges the power to receive and to expel members in the whole body of every Christian congregation.

The reading of the pamphlets dealing with forgotten controversies is tedious till we remember that behind their type, browned by age and almost illegible from time, lie issues fraught with tremendous consequences for after ages. For if the congregation was sovereign in form, it might become—and did become—sovereign in substance. As the faithful received religious liberty, they might go on to claim political liberty, if not in England then in another home across the Atlantic. There is only one liberty, and it is liberty of conscience. All other forms of liberty are its offspring. 'Quand 'on commence à douter en religion,' Chateaubriand acutely remarks, 'on doute en politique. L'homme qui cherche les 'fondements de son culte ne tarde pas à s'enquérir des principes 'de son gouvernement. Quand l'esprit demande à être libre, 'le corps aussi veut l'être. Cela est une conséquence toute 'naturelle.' Free religious and free political life are inseparable. There is not a real break in the line of political thought from the 'Franco-Gallia' of Hotman to the Declaration of Independence of 1776. As the one proclaimed the political liberty of the French of the sixteenth century, so the other proclaimed the political liberty of the American of the eighteenth. The line of succession runs from Martin Luther to John Calvin, from John Calvin to Hubert Languet, from

* 'Animad,' p. 133.

† Def., p. 127.

Hubert Languet to John Knox, from John Knox to John Robinson, from John Robinson to John Milton, from John Milton to John Locke, and from John Locke to Alexander Hamilton.

There is the sobriety of Milton in Robinson's contention that 'we must so enjoy experienced good things, as we stock 'not ourselves in respect of other things, as yet untried. We 'may not stint or circumscribe either our knowledge, or faith, 'or obedience, within straiter bounds than the whole revealed 'will of God, in the knowledge and obedience whereof we 'must daily increase and edify ourselves; much less must we 'suffer ourselves to be stripped of any liberty which Christ 'our Lord hath purchased for us, and given to us to use for 'our good.'*

One form of this liberty was lay-preaching, which the Rev. John Yates, Fellow of Emmanuel College, denounced. John Robinson wrote an able defence in his 'People's Plea for the 'Exercise of Prophecy,' which concludes with these words:—

'It might be shown if need were, that greater liberty than he (*i.e.*, Mr. Yates) alloweth is used by divers in the Romish Church, the spiritual Egypt, and house of bondage for God's people: so as the bondage of the very Hagar of Rome is not so great in this case as he would bring upon Sarah herself. The Lord give unto his people courage to stand for this liberty amongst the rest, wherewith Christ hath made them free, Gal. v. 1; and unto us who enjoy it, grace to use the same unto his glory, in our mutual edification. Amen.'†

John Robinson could not adopt the tolerant views of such contemporaries of his own as John Smith and Leonard Busher, and this was because he adhered to the Lutheran conception of the co-action of Church and State. He urges that the Scriptural examples of men like Moses and David go to prove how greatly the magistrate can further the weal of the people. The magistrate 'may alter, devise, or establish nothing in 'religion otherwise than Christ hath appointed, but proves 'not that he may not use his lawful power lawfully for the 'furtherance of Christ's kingdom and laws.' The prophet Isaiah, speaking of the Church of Christ, foretells 'that kings

* 'Robinson's Works' (Ashton's edition), ii., pp. 23-4.

† *Ibid.*, iii., p. 335.

'shall be her nursing fathers, and queens her nursing mothers: which, if they meddle not with her, how can they be? . . . It is true they (*i.e.*, the magistrates) have no power against the laws, doctrines, and religion of Christ: but for the same, if their power be of God, they may use it lawfully, and against the contrary.'*

No authority could Robinson bestow on his magistrates, for they were Dutch. Could not he and his congregation set out for a land where they might have magistrates of their own? Were they not becoming too closely identified with their Dutch neighbours? Men like Stephen Butterfield and John Masterson were one day to sign their names as Steven Butturveldt and Jan Meester. Besides, the toleration of the Dutch not only allowed Anglican and Roman Catholic, but it also allowed Anabaptist and Socinian. Of course this horrified the refugees. Moreover, as agriculturists they found the industrial labours of Holland uncongenial. They

'could not bring them (*i.e.*, the Dutch) to reform the neglect of the observation of the Lord's day as a Sabbath, or any other thing amiss among them . . . that which was very lamentable, and of all sorrows most heavy to be borne, was that many (of their children) by these occasions and the great licentiousness of youth in that country . . . were drawn away by evil examples into extravagant and dangerous courses, getting the reins on their necks and departing from their parents. Some became soldiers, others took upon them far voyages by sea, and others some worse courses, tending to dissoluteness and the destruction of their souls, to the great grief of their parents and the dishonour of God; and that place being of great licentiousness and liberty to children, they could not educate them, nor could they give them due correction without reproof or reproach from their neighbours.'†

As Gardiner points out, their longing for a land in which tares never mingled with the wheat was still unsatisfied. They felt the force of Joubert's words, '*de quels ravissements nous privent nos intempérances!*' But they practised abstinence by instinct, and not from calculation. They were content to show the beauty of an austere dutifulness.

The exiles had sought a city of refuge in Holland, but they found it not. The new land of America invited them. Far

* 'Robinson's Works' (Ashton's edition), iii, p. 277.

† Morton, 'New England's Memorial,' pp. 9-10 (Masfield's edition).

north they could not go, for the climate was severe; and near the Jamestown colonists they would not go, for these would regard the separatists with unfriendly eyes. They resolved upon a middle course: they would come as near to Jamestown as they could. Accordingly, they negotiated with the Virginia Company. Their case came before George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, and George Montaigne, Bishop of London, and they were finally told that they must not expect any public assurance of toleration in America, yet, as long as they behaved peaceably, their proceedings would be connived at.

The pilgrims left Leyden on 21st July, touching at Southampton and Plymouth. On 6th September (O.S.) or 16th (N.S.), 1620, one hundred and two passengers sailed in the *Mayflower*, a vessel of only 180 tons. On 11th December (O.S.) or 21st (N.S.) they landed at a spot they called Plymouth, in memory of the last English port at which they touched. The very names they bestowed upon their new homes proves how much of their heart lay in the old. Such names as Southampton, New York, and the like suggest all the pathetic nostalgia of the exiles. The men who named these places were thinking of once dearly loved church towers, of the streets and market squares of country towns, whose every detail was well remembered and much regretted, of homes they could scarcely hope to see again. 'Farewell, dear England,' was the cry which burst from the first tiny band of pilgrims as its shores were growing dim to their sight. 'Our hearts,' wrote one of Winthrop's followers, 'shall be fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness.' It is not hard to catch the spirit of the Puritan settlers in such places as Salem, Philadelphia, and the like. The men who gave these names to their new homes felt that, like Abraham of old, they had gone forth from their kindred and their people, from the familiar Ur of the Chaldees, to seek a country whose builder and maker is God.

The pilgrims claimed liberty of worship in New England not because the conscience of every man was entitled to respect, but because their claim, and their claim alone, was the right one. The Reformation broke with the past when it proved that there need not be a universal Church. The Church of England kept its continuity with the past when it still claimed

to be the national Church, but the separatists rejected this claim utterly. Their claim had been rejected in England, and they were determined to reject all other claims in New England. They would have none of toleration, for they must have a land free from all other contaminating religious bodies. Robinson, and men like him, knew he was entitled to persecute idolatry, and could employ the civil sword against anyone who did not believe as he believed. They builded better, far better, than they knew, for when they paved the way for the separation of Church and State, they also paved the way for the toleration they detested. It is pleasing to note a drift towards progress or goodness in phenomena that at first sight seem largely evil. One reads, for example, the horrible records of the devastation wrought by the Black Death of 1348, yet one must also remember that in the end it proved to be one of the chief means of changing the old, cumbersome system of land owning into a new and easier system.

Significant as the voyage of the *Mayflower* proved, an event in its cabin also possesses permanent interest. Forty-one men signed the following document:—

‘In the name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, etc., having undertaken, for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of our King and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the Colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness hereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape Codd the 11 of November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign Lord, King James, of England, France, and Ireland the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth. An^o Dom. 1620.’

If ever there was an original contract of government, this was one. It is curious to note that it was reserved for the Puritans to contribute the first written Constitution in New England and in Old England alike, for ‘The Humble Petition and Advice’ of 1657 contained its written fundamentals. The

signatories of the 1620 contract meant not only to bind themselves, but those that came after them. 'After they had provided a place for their goods,' comments Bradford, 'or common store . . . as time would admit, they met and consulted of laws and orders, both for their civil and military government, as the necessity of their condition did require, still adding thereunto as urgent occasion in several times, and as cases did require.*' They believed in liberty, even if it was only the liberty to worship God in their own fashion. They believed in equality, but it was the equality of the elect before God. They believed in fraternity, though they refused to think that wisdom was to be discovered by counting the heads of the brethren. 'Know,' records Milton, 'that to be free is the same thing as to be pious, to be wise, to be temperate and just, to be frugal and abstinent, and, lastly, to be magnanimous and brave; so to be the opposite of all these is the same as to be a slave.'

The separatists were as anxious as John Calvin to ensure the maintenance of their system of belief. They were a business company when they entered into negotiations with the Virginia Company. They were a political company when they signed the compact in the cabin of the *Mayflower*. But the business company and the political company were pre-eminently a congregation whose primary purpose was the worship of God. Their State was the Church, and their Church was the State. The priesthood of the laity was an article of belief, but it was an article to which there were attached grave reservations. The community of property passed away, and the General Court saw the necessity of allowing the control of nascent industry to pass into the hands of men who were not strict separatists. In theory a householder who was not a member of the congregation possessed a vote, but in practice this was not so. Only those became householders who won the approval of the Governor and his Council. Cotton, Davenport, Eliot, Hooker (not the 'judicious'), and Richard Mather discuss in ample detail the covenant idea which was the leading one in their mind. They elaborate the election of elders and ministers by the congregation, the authority of each, and the powers of censure and excommunication they wielded.

* 'History of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-47,' p. 189.

John Robinson had emphasised the view that in the visible Church there is an aristocratic and a democratic element, namely the officers and the congregation. Both elements possessed a voice in the solution of any vexed question. To the elders were committed large discretionary and administrative powers to be employed for the discipline and the guidance of the whole body. Co-operation between the different religious bodies was found to be a necessity. There were long discussions of schemes of federal union which took shape in the convocation of occasional synods, and these convocations in religion prepared the way for convocations which ultimately adopted the federal system in politics.

In spite of the emphasis which Robinson used to lay on the aristocratic and the democratic elements, it is plain that the theory of the separatist and the Puritan was aristocratic. In 1634 Cotton wrote to Lord Say and Lord Brooke and others who proposed to settle in New England: 'Democracy I do not conceive that ever God did ordain as a fit government, either for Church or commonwealth.'^{*} There was no fear of the power of the peer in the brain of Cotton, but there was a distinct dislike to admit to the rights of citizenship men who were not Church members. In 1638 Winthrop wrote to Hooker that it was unsafe to bestow political power on the *hoi polloi*, because 'the best part is always the least, and of that best part the wiser part is always the lesser.'[†] Democracy he 'branded with reproachful epithets . . . ; and historians do record that it hath been always of least continuance and full of troubles.' Arbitrary rule could be limited by political covenants, similar to those existing between God and man.[‡] Liberty, he thought with Milton, was based on authority, and consisted in doing that 'which is good, just, and honest.'[§] No doubt some of these statements were inspired by a dread of such extreme democracy as the granting of the vote to all males over twenty-one. Women were excluded from all political power.

The democratic ideal is obvious in the 'Model of Church and Civil Power,' which it is probable that Richard Mather

^{*} Hutchinson, 'History of Massachusetts,' i., p. 497.

[†] Winthrop, 'History,' ii., Addenda, p. 438.

[‡] *Ibid.*, ii., p. 281.

[§] *Ibid.*, ii., p. 281. In this paragraph I am much indebted to the writings of Mr. H. L. Osgood, an illuminating American writer.

wrote. 'In a free State,' it declares, 'no magistrate hath power 'over the bodies, goods, lands, liberties of a free people, but by 'their free consent.' The theocratic nature of the new State is evident in the qualifying assertion immediately added, declaring that 'as all free men are only stewards of God, they may not 'give the magistrate power over those things as they please, but 'as God pleases. Therefore the magistrate's power is limited 'by the only perfect rule of the word of God.' The influence of Calvin's 'Institutes' is plain. Still, New Plymouth never reproduced the conditions of Geneva. The power of the clergy persisted in State as much as in Church for forty years after the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers. Over the course of generations we can see that what they gained for themselves ultimately became the inheritance of all. The day was to come when all freeholders were admitted to full citizenship even though they were not members of the congregation.

In England, as F. W. Maitland put it, the law for the great men became the law for all men: the King's Court became the Common Law Court. The political husbandman, as Castelar remarked, does not always foresee what manner of crop will be gathered from off the lands that he has digged and sown. It was Kossuth, the revolutionary, who advocated Hungarian autonomy, but it was Déak, the conservative, who realised it. Republicans preached the unity of Germany: it was carried through by Bismarck the autocrat. Republicans preached the emancipation of the serf, which a despotic Tsar enacted. It was Mazzini, the conspirator as well as the prophet, who insisted on the unity of Italy: it was Cavour, the calculating statesman, who realised it. It was the extremist, Gambetta, who played for a republic, which it was the task of the moderate, Thiers, to make effective.

In spite of the presence of aliens, the tone and the temper of the colonies remained unmistakably English. No doubt Dutch, Swedes, and Germans were present, but they were not present in numbers sufficient to make any impression on public life and sentiment. The immigration of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was insignificant in quantity: it was significant to the last degree in its quality. Numbers are frequently of the least importance in history. Ask any schoolboy—not necessarily Macaulay's schoolboy—what happened in the years 1665 and

1666, and he will at once tell you that those were the years of the Great Plague and the Fire. The adult will furnish you with the same answer. It will not often occur to either of them, even to the adult, to consult an old folio which records what a young man of some twenty-three years was meditating in 1665 and 1666. He discovered at that time, *inter alia*, 'first the binomial theorem, then the method of fluxions,' and then

'began to think of gravity extending to the orb of the moon, and having found out how to estimate the force with which a globe, revolving within a sphere, from Kepler's rule (*i.e.*, the third law), I deduced that the forces which keep the planets in their orb must be reciprocally as the squares of their distances from their centres: and thereby compared the force requisite to keep the moon in her orb with the force of gravity at the surface of the earth, and found them answer pretty nearly. All this was in the two plague years of 1665 and 1666, for in those days I was in the prime of my age for invention, and minded Mathematicks and Philosophy more than at any time since.'

The discoveries of the infinitesimal calculus and of the law of gravitation by Sir Isaac Newton are of enormously greater note in the progress of the world than the Great Plague and the Fire of London. Similarly it is absurd to measure the immigration to America simply by its volume. Its spirit is of infinitely greater importance, and its spirit was such that it has permanently changed the temper and the thought of the whole of North America. It has settled for the future the predominance of English civilisation.

It is so unique a record that it has happened only twice in the modern world, and, so far as anyone can see, it will never happen again. It happened in North America and it happened in Australia or Australasia. Migration cannot possibly affect such densely populated countries as India and China. Migration vitally affected both North America and Australia, for when the white race began to go to the one in the seventeenth and to the other in the nineteenth century the aboriginal population was so small as to be unable seriously to affect the migrating race. The Red Indians inhabited North America almost as sparsely as the aborigines inhabited Australia. It is highly probable that the earliest inhabitants of North America came either in those remote times when Asia and America were united or else they came across Bering's Straits and the Aleutian Islands. The wonder is that the yellow man did not discover the empty

continent at his doors and colonise it before the white man ever heard of it. It is amazing that so vast a continent should have been occupied simply by some thousands of Indians, and that it should have been reserved for men dwelling in far-off England to become masters of its destinies.

Had not the Pilgrim Fathers felt aloof in the land of their birth, it seems most likely that the bulk of the inhabitants might to-day be as French as is the province of Quebec. It is one of those tremendous might-have-beens on which it is impossible not to speculate. Had it been possible for Canada to have remained a French possession there would have been two outlooks on civilisation, and in the ensuing conflict the English would have won, but not won so completely as to eradicate French influence. Over twenty years ago Senator Lodge examined the records and traced the racial origin of 14,243 Americans who had attained eminence. Of these eminent Americans 10,376 were English by descent; 1,439 were 'descendants of the Scotch and English who settled in the 'north of Ireland and made themselves famous by their defence 'of Londonderry'; 436 were Scotch; 159 Welsh; 109 Irish. Germany contributed 659; the Huguenots 589, and other Frenchmen 85; Holland 336, and the rest of Europe 55.*

The adoption of the Constitution by the fathers of the new republic made the English mould not so much the predominant as the only one. No immigrant has been able to break this mould: on the contrary, it has enclosed all others. Not even a German hoped to set up the Reichstag of Berlin in the room of the Congress of Washington. Immigration from other lands did not begin till the nineteenth century; that is, the English ideal had been in possession for almost two centuries, and possession is nine points of law. So it has proved in the United States. The common law system prevails. Therefore in all the ordinary relationships of life the English conception was the only one, and is still the dominant one. But for the Pilgrim Fathers the speech of Shakespeare and of Bunyan would not now be spoken half the world over. Our blood is in the veins of the Americans, our law is in their courts, and our faith is in their hearts.

ROBERT H. MURRAY.

* H. C. Lodge, 'Historical and Political Essays,' pp. 138-147.

RECENT ELECTIONS AT THE FRENCH ACADEMY

IN spite of all mistakes made by prejudice or ignorance, and in defiance of the gibes of a hundred satirists, the French Academy continues to hold a prominent place in the current history of cultivation. It may be irresistible for its critics to laugh at its errors, and to regret the longevity of some of its members; but there is no doubt whatever that its extinction would leave a melancholy void in the centre of the activities of European literature. We do not realise clearly enough the fact that if the Great War had lasted longer, or if the fate of Paris had been further imperilled, the ancient institution of the French Academy might mechanically have come to an end. There are, or should be, as every one knows, forty members of the body, and the remainder of these, upon the death of a member, elect his successor. But, by the rules of the body, no election is valid unless it represents the presence, voting, of a not inconsiderable number of members. During the war the Academicians were so widely dispersed and so much distracted by war work, that no meetings for election could be held. An unprecedented condition thereupon developed. Death after death impoverished a body, which saw no means of restoring its numbers, and which yet must so restore them or must ultimately cease to exist. At the moment of the armistice the Academy saw itself reduced to two-thirds of its full strength.

Already, before the armistice, the gravity of the situation had been the subject of much anxiety, and various members, among whom I think I may be allowed to mention M. Maurice Barrès, had been active in discussing the mode in which catastrophe might be avoided and in considering provisionally what names should be selected to fill up the *lacunæ* in each section of the Academy. One of the first observations made by these guardians of the Cupola was that the sentiment of the nation, and of the Academy itself, was in favour of conferring the signal honour of the palm-leaves upon several of those who had been

mainly active in bringing the resistance of France to a victorious close. That the great soldiers had not contributed much, or anything, to what could definitely be styled literature, was not held to be an objection to this course. There were several precedents which could be brought forward in case of such disapproval, which was extremely unlikely to be formulated.

In the eighteenth century, and indeed after the Napoleonic restoration, the French Academy had admitted to its membership several public men who could hardly be called men of letters. The crowning example was that of the great soldier France produced under the old *régime*, Marshal de Villars, Voltaire's 'fanfaron plein d'honneur.' But there were other 'immortal' field-m Marshals, less distinguished in arms than he, and no less innocent of the practical part of letters, such as Richelieu and Belle-Isle. Early in the nineteenth century, the claims of noble candidates were often excessively elastic, and the Academy itself found ingenuity strained to excess in accounting for the presence in its midst of the Dukes of Bassano and of Montmorency. It was in honour of the latter that the phrase 'le parti des ducs' was invented to include all such persons as based their claim to membership rather on social influence than on intellectual ability.

Accordingly, the first reception of a new member to the French Academy was that of Marshal Joffre on the 20th of December 1918. None had taken place for more than four years, when M. Bergson had succeeded, in a time of apparent perfect peace, to the chair of Emile Ollivier. The occasion of Joffre's reception was one of extraordinary interest, and the hall was crowded to its extreme limits by an eager and even slightly hysterical audience. For over four years the attention of every French man and woman had been strained to the horizon of the north-eastern frontier, and while the destinies of France seemed to hang in the balance, those purely intellectual amusements in which French society has always taken so vivid an interest had been completely relegated to the background. But now, after the joy and frenzy of the armistice, the attention of the typical Frenchman was recalled to his original interests. Every one wondered in what terms the great soldier would address the company of which Bossuet and Montesquieu and Victor Hugo had been the ornament. Would he open the proceedings with

a burst of military gratulation, or would he deliver a solemn warning against excess of confidence in the future tranquillity of the world?

He spoke in both these senses, but not immediately. The French have an exquisite tact in conducting their public performances. Marshal Joffre was, in some sense, the type of the active chivalry of his country, and there was no pretence that it was not his military distinction which had called him up into the company of the Immortals. But he did not begin by beating the drum or by blowing the trumpet. He was called, by chance, to occupy the place of Jules Claretie, the playwright and director of the Théâtre Français, an entirely pacific person, who died six months before the Great War broke out. M. Joffre began with simplicity by quoting what Renan had said about Claretie, when the latter was received into the Academy. He amplified this, and then dwelt on what had passed through the minds of men since the decease of that amiable and industrious man. In this way, insensibly, the marshal was led into a discussion of the mode in which the crime of Germany reverberated through France. The polite and elegant assembly before him broke into irresistible applause when he remarked, with an emotion which made his utterance difficult, 'Our people, enamoured of liberty, accepted with firm resolve the harsh servitude of war, because it was conscious of its own sincere desire for peace, and because a clear instinct unveiled before it the grandeur of the task which it was about to accomplish.' After this there was no more talk about Claretie, but the address of the new Academician became the lucid and brief exposure by an expert of the course and progress of the war.

M. Joffre was answered by a poet, by M. Jean Richepin, in whom the waning prestige of Victor Hugo is still supported in the Academy. He gave to the memory of Jules Claretie that attention which, under the conditions, was neither to be expected nor desired from the great soldier. It then became the duty of M. Richepin to state what were the peculiarly literary claims to distinction of the new member. This was a delicate matter, since, as a matter of fact, M. Joffre has not, through a busy military life, had much leisure to exchange the sword for the pen. M. Richepin cleverly suggested that it might be said of him, as Miguet said of Cardinal Richelieu, that

he had an intelligent perception of his own actions, 'l'intention 'des grandes choses qu'il a faites.' As a fact, it appears that a lecture delivered before a 'Société Amicale' in 1913 is the earliest of the writings of the marshal which industry has been able to discover, and he was already more than sixty years of age when he composed it. During the war, his 'Instruction 'Générale' of 25th August 1914, and his notes addressed to the troops after Charleroi, are all the purely academic trophies which the Victor of the Marne could, or cared to, produce on his election.

The general public in Paris showed such a violent appreciation of the 'immortalisation' of the great soldier, and clamoured so loudly for a repetition of the experience, that those who had the real dignity of the Academy most at heart became alarmed for the claims of imagination, style, and scholarship, which were the proper objects of its solicitude. Hence, it was determined, before honouring any more unlettered, or faintly lettered, public men, to add to the body several writers of unquestioned merit. There were now but twenty-seven members of a body normally fixed at forty, and the necessity for filling up the ranks was pressing. On the 20th of March 1919, M. René Boylesve, who had been elected to fill the place of Alfred Mézières, was received under the Cupola by the poet, M. Henri de Regnier. The circumstances of the death of Mézières had greatly exercised the imagination of the French. That eminent essayist and critic had reached his eighty-ninth year when the Germans invaded Lorraine, and he was too feeble in body to be removed from his home when the exodus took place. The flood of German invasion swept over his country house in the village of Rehon, and for several months no news reached him from the outer world. He was a prisoner in his home, and exposed to the insults of the invaders, who perpetually amused themselves by telling him of the complete destruction of France, and by threatening him with captivity in Germany. He lived on until the 10th of October 1915, when he passed away without the consolation of knowledge, but having never abandoned confidence and hope. This was a story well fitted to stir an audience with emotion.

It was beautifully told by the new Academician. M. René Boylesve is a novelist who came into prominence less than

thirty years ago by the publication of two novels of Italian romance, 'Sainte-Marie des Fleurs' and 'Le parfum des îles 'Borromées.' He was born at the little town of Haye-Descartes, in Touraine, in 1867. His earliest writings were published at the moment when the school of naturalistic fiction had passed into a condition of extravagance and disrepute. The literary life of Paris was sharply divided into cliques and *cénacles*, and M. Boylesve frequented none of these. He posed neither as a decadent nor as a symbolist; he affected neither 'La Plume' nor 'L'Ermitage.' He pursued his path with pertinacity and reserve, and he gradually achieved a celebrity due to no other energy than his own. After periods of great eccentricity and violence in fiction, the novels of M. Boylesve offered a simplicity and a sincerity which allured and delighted a crowd of readers jaded by Zola and Mirbeau. I take an innocent vanity in remembering that I recognised the charm of M. Boylesve from the very first. Shall I be pardoned if I boast of the fact that I was his earliest, and for a long time his only public admirer in the English press? So many gifted Frenchmen have allowed their fancy to libel the France we ought to love and honour, that great praise is due to a novelist no less gifted in whose hands the beauty, the loyalty, and the genuine characteristics of French country life are not wholly obscured by satire of what is sordid and petty. M. Boylesve displays more fully than any other living writer the charm of rural France. Every one who desires to understand French conditions should read his playful studies, such as 'Leçon d'amour dans un parc' and 'L'enfant à la 'balustrade,' but above all his admirable studies of civic intrigue in Touraine, such as 'Mlle. Cloque' and 'Mon amour.' Extreme sincerity realised with extreme simplicity—so has been defined the central quality of the author of these sane and delicate stories.

Ever since the election of Pierre Corneille, in 1647, the French Academy has been careful to support the tradition of the stage. Most of the eminent playwrights of France—though not, indeed, Molière—have been members of the body, which still contains MM. Maurice Donnay and Eugène Brieux. Another dramatist, better known perhaps as a novelist, Paul Hervieu, died just before the war, and is now succeeded by the celebrated author of 'Les Fossiles,' whose absence had

long been noted with surprise. M. François de Curel is a child of Lorraine, born at Metz in 1854, into a family one of whose boasts is that it welcomed Bossuet when he came to preach in the cathedral of Messines. One of the playwright's ancestors attended the Lord of Joinville to the Holy Land as his squire; thus early did the Curels claim kinship with literature in its most chivalrous forms. Born in what became in 1871 politically a part of Germany, M. de Curel contrived to remain a foreigner at Metz; his heart and even his tongue continued to be in France; and being called upon to fit himself for a high industrial responsibility, he was unable to agree to do so, as he was not acquainted with the German language.

Nor did the profession of the stage seem at first to invite this Lorraine exile from the world of France. He had reached the age of thirty-five as the author of a single unsuccessful novel, when the article of a stranger, M. Charles Maurras, who wrote in a newspaper, 'Au théâtre, Monsieur de Curel, au théâtre!' awakened a new ambition. After all, why not? He has told us that this ejaculation had a magical effect upon him. He realised that hitherto he had been absorbed, and without result, in the close observation of himself. Here was an appeal, from the outside, from an unknown source, to investigate human character from a variety of different angles; and he found that ideas which he had entertained with languor and even with a sort of insincerity when he applied them directly to himself, interested him acutely and presented themselves to him with decision when he transferred them to characters distinct from his own. He began to write plays, and to offer them to the managers, but they were, at first, invariably refused. He was told that the psychology of his pieces was too complicated, his satire too bitter, and his turns of dialogue too ingenious. The design of M. de Curel, from the very first, was to produce a drama of ideas, and he found himself brought up against the indifference of the public and the levity of the managers. He was told that nobody wanted to go to the theatre after dinner to listen to the formulas of a philosopher or the paradoxes of a social reformer.

M. de Curel however persisted, and one day the Théâtre Antoine opened its doors to his 'Figurante,' which had been rejected by the Comédie Française. It was not a success, for it

puzzled the public, but it was followed by 'Les Fossiles,' which insisted on attention, and received it. From this day forth, though never popular, though always fiercely disputed, the dramatic powers of M. de Curel have continued to develop. 'Les Fossiles,' still perhaps his best work, is a document of extraordinary interest; an ancient family attempts to resist the advancing flood of democracy by an expiring effort of dignity, and of course is swept away by it. But if we speak of 'Les Fossiles' as the new Academician's masterpiece, is it not through a momentary forgetfulness of 'Le Repas du Lion'? But the rich and paradoxical theatre of François de Curel, so firmly based upon comprehension and reflection, is not to be dismissed in one perfunctory page.

Never, since the hour of its creation, was the French Academy so rapidly reorganised as it was in 1919. Monseigneur Alfred Baudrillart was received, on the 10th of May, to fill the place left early in the war by the sudden death of the Comte Albert de Mun. The Academy, which was accustomed to a sprinkling of crudite prelates, has for several years past possessed no ecclesiastical member except Monseigneur Duchesne, who is now an old man. Born in 1859, Monseigneur Baudrillart, who is probably less known in this country than most of his colleagues, was marked for academic distinction almost from the cradle. When he was a schoolboy his uncle, Silvestre de Sacy, who was one of the Forty, gave him a copy of 'Quintilian,' in which he wrote, 'À Alfred Baudrillart, futur membre de l'Académie française,' a daring and indeed perilous prophecy which has at last been fulfilled. He passed through the usual educational mill at the École Normale, at the Collège Stanislas, and finally as a professor of history in the University. He is a great orator, a fervent Catholic propagandist, and a master of apologetics; and he has taken up a strong patriotic attitude against those who, like certain pro-German prelates of Spain, have criticised unfavourably the attitude of the Gallican Church.

The lay Academicians wear green coats on which golden palm-leaves are applied. The dress of the ecclesiastical members follows an etiquette which the outsider may not attempt to account for. Monseigneur Baudrillart was received in a black robe edged with red, and of course without a sword. When however a short time later he was called upon to adorn the reception of

M. Jules Cambon, it was observed that he was entirely clad in that colour which is called 'Roman violet,' but which is actually a kind of indigo blue distinguished as much as possible from the 'pourpre cardinalice' of the Vatican. These details must not be held unworthy of the notice of the Muse, for they reflect the ingenuities of three hundred years. The presentation of M. Cambon was a great affair. He was received by M. Ribot, and he sat with the President of the Republic on one side of him and M. Denys Cochin on the other, representing high politics from opposite factions; so that the State, in its largest sense, combined to do honour to a great ambassador.

But where did literature come in? On this point it would be tactless to be pedantic. The new Immortal, in his speech, put all the credit to the account of diplomacy. He sat there, in front of his glass of sugared water, not as an eminent writer, but as a representative of France in the tumultuous world of Europe.

M. Ribot took up the theme with courage. He welcomed in the younger of two famous brothers the man who had risen slowly into the perfect confidence of the nation, who had begun as a provincial prefect, had been a wise and powerful governor of Algeria in a distracted moment, and then at Washington, at Madrid, and finally, from 1907 to 1914, at Berlin, had done all he could to preserve the dignity of France, while attempting to smooth over the difficulties which arose at Tangier and then at Algeciras. If it had been in the power of any man to retard the war, that would have been accomplished by M. Jules Cambon. He dwelt upon the harmony that has always subsisted between the two great brethren of diplomacy, and drew a slight portrait of our own long-time friend, M. Paul Cambon. The presence of the ambassador to England on the occasion of his brother's reception gave an added lustre to the ceremony, which lacked no element of the graceful pomp which French tradition delights in. M. Jules Cambon succeeds to the chair of Francis Charmes, the journalist, of whom he pronounced a eulogy which was of a noticeable elegance. But it was not this which thrilled the enormous audience at the Institute as it had hardly ever been thrilled before. It was the sense that in thus surrounding and caressing the great ambassador, all the intelligence of France combined in doing public honour to the

man whose prudence, dignity, and penetration had helped to safeguard the Republic, and moreover in offering him some consolation for the horrible hours he spent in Berlin in July 1914. The literary baggage of M. Jules Cambon is not heavy, but it is estimable. It consists of his 'Dispatches,' not all of which have as yet been published. M. Ribot, who has read both the known and the unknown, says that they are uniformly distinguished by simplicity, by keenness of observation, and sometimes by humour.

It was the hour of the politicians, and there succeeded the veteran M. Clemenceau, whose election had become, during the war, a matter of course, although nobody dreamed of it before. I have so recently analysed, with some fullness, the literary attainments of M. Clemenceau as essayist, novelist, journalist, and even playwright (EDINBURGH REVIEW, April 1919) that I need do no more here than say that his versatile genius has justly and appropriately found its home under the Cupola.

But there may be too many political candidates for immortality. What can have led M. Louis Barthou to covet the green coat and the palms, or what can have induced the Academy to consent to admit him to its body, are questions which it would need much acquaintance with the under-currents of Parisian intrigue to decide. M. Barthou, who was born in 1862, is a politician pure and simple, who has held a portfolio in several Governments. He has the reputation of being a 'moderate' man, and he has not shown himself enthusiastic about the alliance with England. He collects coins, it is said, in his leisure moments, which have never been sufficiently protracted to allow him, so far as I have been able to discover, to write or publish anything of any literary significance. It is the weakness of an Academy to be amenable to claims which are invisible to those who regard style or scholarship as the signs manual of lettered competence. M. Louis Barthou has been made an Immortal, and it is not for a foreign barbarian to question the wisdom of his peers in so honouring him. We must hope that he will not live to exclaim, like Tithonus:

'Release me, and restore me to the ground.'

The Academy had now partly recovered its normal conditions, and could pause before imposing further ceremonies on its

admirers. Marshal Foch, who had been elected in 1918, had been prevented by the pressure of his military duties from taking the seat left vacant by the Marquis de Vogüé, who died in 1916. He was received on the 5th of February of the present year by M. Raymond Poincaré. The marshal fully entered, as some of his predecessors cannot be said to have done, into the spirit and tradition of the place in which he found himself. He opened his discourse by a charming piece of reminiscence or invention; he told his audience that in the reign of Louis XIV., a doge of Genoa, who had arrived at Versailles on a mission, declared that he was amazed at the magnificence which surrounded him, but most of all at the fact that he was there himself. With consummate tact Marshal Foch refused to see in the welcome awarded to him in person anything but an acclamation of the tenacity of the army of France which through four glorious and lamentable years of sacrifice had sustained without despair unrivalled afflictions and attacks.

By the time these lines are published, Marshal Foch will have just entered his seventieth year, for he was born at Tarbes on the 2nd of October 1851. He was trained from a child in military science, and he was being instructed in geometry by the Jesuit Fathers in Metz when the war of 1870 broke out. He left his books and joined a regiment of infantry, but before he had a chance of fighting, the conflict was over and France was bowed in the dust of defeat. He went back to Metz, but life there under the Germans was intolerable, and he emigrated to Nancy, where he recommenced his studies in the *École Polytechnique*. Nancy, like the other frontier towns, was still in the occupation of the enemy, and M. Poincaré reminded M. Foch that General von Manteuffel was living in the charming palace which M. Foch was to make his headquarters forty-two years later. The sadness of these days of captivity made a profound impression on the soul of the ardent young soldier. The remainder of Foch's life has been marked by a steady progress in all the departments of military efficiency. He was ripe, in the full development of his genius, when he was called upon to save the ancient Latin civilisation of the West, and with it the world itself, from such a cataclysm as had never been known in history.

Imaginative literature reassumed its prerogative at the

reception of M. Henry Bordeaux by M. Henri de Regnier on the 27th of May of this year. The extreme popularity of the books which M. Bordeaux had published during the war, particularly those on the resistance of Verdun, combined with the deserved success of his novels, had made his election certain, but on his earliest appearance, for some reason or other, he failed to obtain the necessary number of votes. These slips are frequent between the cup and the lip. His immortality was only postponed however, and we are perhaps to be congratulated on the delay which obliged M. Bordeaux to occupy the chair left vacant by Jules Lemaitre. That great critic, perhaps the most sympathetic whom modern Europe has known, was positively the earliest victim of the great struggle, since, walking in his garden at Tavers, and receiving too abruptly the news that Germany had declared war, he was seized then and there with a fit in which he remained unconscious until his death a few hours afterwards.

M. Henry Bordeaux is a child of Savoy, like Jean Jacques Rousseau and St. François de Sales; he was born at Thonon on the 25th of January 1870. The lakes and mountains and forests of that beautiful country of the Chablais entered early into his soul, and although he has advanced to an appreciation of wider fields of France, none of his books have had a greater charm than those in which he has embalmed his memories as a wandering Savoyard. M. Bordeaux is an example of resistance to that centralisation of all intellectual force in Paris which has been an unwholesome feature of our time. He began his literary career, it is true, in the capital, but he soon went back to his native Savoy, and he worked as a lawyer at Chambéry. Courts of law are an excellent school for the student of manners, and this is perhaps peculiarly true of a provincial centre. The earliest novel of M. Henry Bordeaux, 'Le Pays Natal,' was offered to Brunetière, who promised to publish it in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, if the author would wait two years; but two years seem an age when we are young. The book appeared elsewhere, and enjoyed but a meagre success; the didactic tone of M. Bordeaux—who is primarily a moralist—was unwelcome to the public of the close of last century. He persisted unabashed, and at last in 1906 he obtained, with a very powerful romance, 'Les Roquevillard,' a wide recognition. Those

who cannot read everything, and yet would know something of everything, can do no better, even to-day, than taste M. Bordeaux in 'Les Roquevillard.' During the war the novelist turned historiographer, and celebrated in a rapid series of monographs the heroism of contemporary action. Of those remarkable studies, if the reader desires an example, none could please him better than 'Les Derniers Jours du Fort de Vaux.' Since the armistice, M. Henry Bordeaux has started a series of novels called 'La Vie Recommence,' of which only one has yet appeared, a poignant story entitled 'La Résurrection de la Chair' (Plon-Nourrit & Cie, 1920). His work is wholesome and sane, perhaps a little too abundant and sometimes too obvious, but eminently conscientious and humane.

In addition to those Academicians of whose successive reception a brief account has been given above, it is proper to mention three illustrious persons whose names are added to the roll although there has not yet been time to admit them at a public session. On the 10th of June of the present year the French Academy met for the purpose of electing members to fill the chairs of the Marquis de Ségur, Edmond Rostand (the author of 'Cyrano de Bergerac'), and Etienne Lamy, all of whom died during the progress of the war. The members had clearly made up their minds beforehand as to their intentions, and their choice was not delayed by the repeated balloting which are customary on these occasions, and which sometimes wearily delay and even completely postpone the election. The succession to the Marquis de Ségur fell almost unanimously upon M. Robert de la Motte-Ange, Marquis de Flers. He was born in 1872, and has written some novels, but his popularity rests upon his dramas, constructed in collaboration with the late Arman de Caillavet. M. de Flers is a journalist of extreme persistence and activity, and has been identified for many years with the *Figaro* and the *Gaulois*. He is a typical product of Paris, and he is the son-in-law of Sardou.

The candidates for the *fauteuil* of Rostand withdrew to make room for one of the most admirable examples of the combination of profound learning with elegance and charm of delivery which our time has seen. That M. Joseph Bédier should be an Immortal seems almost too good to be true, so rarely does pure excellence, unsupported by any of the arts

of advertisement, achieve worldly prominence. M. Bédier is the most distinguished of the pupils of Gaston Paris, and the man who has carried furthest the investigation of the medieval literature of France. He is the first living authority on the *fabliaux* and the *chansons de geste*, but the work by which he is most widely known is his 'Roman de Tristan et Iseult,' which was first published in 1902. This is a restoration of the poem, of which fragments exist in several languages, but of which the original text is lost, in which the love-story is told of the Cornish prince and his two Iseults. M. Bédier identifies the author with an Anglo-Norman bard named Thomas. The later Middle Ages obscured the legend with vast additions and supererogations; these M. Bédier has skilfully pared away. In 1903, at the death of Gaston Paris, M. Bédier succeeded his master as Professor of French Language and Literature in the Collège de France. During the war he quitted his studies and distinguished himself in military work, especially, if I am rightly informed, in aviation. He has now returned to his texts, and in particular to a critical edition of the 'Chanson de Roland.'

On the same day, and with almost an equal unanimity, M. André Chevrillon was elected to fill the place of Etienne Lamy. This election may be taken as a compliment to England, for no one has worked more zealously or more intelligently than M. Chevrillon to encourage in France a just and unprejudiced opinion with regard to English affairs. He was born in 1864, and his earliest work was a volume on Sydney Smith (1894), in which he examined the renaissance of liberal ideas in England a century ago. He is the nephew of Taine, and it may be conjectured that the studies which his illustrious uncle pursued in the history of English literature have not been without a determining influence on his mind. M. Chevrillon has travelled in India and in America; his profound and faithful study of Ruskin is a reproach to us who have fallen so far away from our faith in that prophet. During the war M. André Chevrillon devoted himself particularly to a celebration of England and the English spirit; his 'L'Angleterre et la Guerre,' which was reviewed in the EDINBURGH REVIEW for January 1917, enjoyed a greater success than any other of his writings. He is a professor at the École Normale.

Finally, on the 8th of July 1920, General Lyautey was

received under the Cupola. He had been elected, in the place of Henry Houssaye, no less than eight years ago. It is very unusual—it is almost unprecedented—that so long an interval should elapse between election and reception. But General Lyautey, who is a romantic and almost legendary being, was far away fighting in Morocco when the choice of the French Academy fell upon him, and he has since then never for a moment been at rest till now. He was born at Nancy in 1854, and he was early involved in the ambitions of France in the Orient. He had become illustrious as a soldier in Tonquin and in Madagascar before he won his ultimate laurels in North Africa. He was received at the Institute by the venerable Monseigneur Duchesne, in a long and sumptuous address, where enthusiasm sometimes tottered on the brink of persiflage, yet contrived to save itself from catastrophe. General Lyautey, who wore at his thigh the famous jewelled sword presented to him by his comrades at St. Cyr, is the *preux chevalier* of modern France, and now that his magnificent military career is closing, and he has leisure from his African sovereignty, it is to be hoped that he will devote himself to a record of his adventures. His publications have as yet been few, and they were described by the adoring prelate as ‘austere, intensely technical, rarely intelligible to the average reader.’

Once more therefore, after long sorrows and a very serious danger of extinction, the French Academy is complete. The period of detraction should now set in, if it is true, as the old epigram declares, that every one flatters the Immortals when they are thirty-nine and scorns them when they are forty.

EDMUND GOSSE.

BOLSHEVISM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

1. **The State and Revolution.** By N. LENIN. George Allen & Unwin.
2. **The Soviets at Work.** By N. LENIN. Socialist Information and Research Bureau. 1918.
3. **Bolshevism at Work.** By W. T. GOODE. George Allen & Unwin.
4. **The Russian Soviet Constitution.** The People's Russian Information Bureau.
5. **The Russian Code of Labour Laws.** The People's Russian Information Bureau. January 1920.
6. **Labour Conditions in Soviet Russia.** Report of International Labour Office. Harrison & Sons. 1920.

IT is seldom that a Government exercises a severe and repressive censorship on the writings of its opponents, and at the same time with vast patience and industry collects statistics and issues propaganda which inadvertently provide a thorough condemnation of its own policy. This however is exactly the position of the Soviet Government in Russia. The Soviet leaders combine, like all revolutionaries, a great ingenuity in agitation and argument with an incapacity to understand ordinary men and everyday things.

It is not necessary to go further than the pamphlets of the Bolsheviks, published by their sympathisers in this country, and Russian newspapers which have escaped the censorship, to find a most reliable exposure of the latest development of Communism. Pro-Bolshevik observers like Mr. Goode, the late correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, also give valuable information so far as it goes. Although this last class of documents are of course entirely one-sided they are first-hand, or practically first-hand, records of the Bolshevik policy; omissions or deficiencies in accounts of this kind have as great a significance as the criticism of hostile observers.

The Bolshevik Republic now extends over the greater part of the former Russian Empire. It has been subjected to formidable attacks, which, whatever may be their ultimate result, appear to have impressed on the Bolsheviks the urgent need of some accommodation with Western Europe, so as to

secure peace and capital and give their infant State the power of continuing and maintaining its threatened existence. The Bolsheviks can undoubtedly claim no small measure of military success. What they lose at one point they regain at another, and more than once they have made a marvellous recovery after a heavy series of reverses. In estimating the achievements of the Bolsheviks it is necessary to remember two facts—that they inherited an empire three-quarters ruined by war, and that they inherited the results of their own propaganda; the latter has proved the worse inheritance of the two. In a country of such vast physical resources as Russia material losses may easily be made good, but discipline and order once lost are hard to restore.

Moral anarchy is the only expression fit to describe the primary results of the revolutionary propaganda. Russian writers, and foreign observers competent to form an opinion, alike agree in representing the Russian moujik, even in ordinary times, as a being intensely ignorant and capable of fierce outbursts of brutality. In moments of excitement or drunkenness he behaves like a ferocious animal, and when he comes to himself displays an equally violent and unrestrained remorse. Marie Botchkareva, the Commander of the Women's Battalion of Death, in her memoirs recounts an episode which illustrates this. At the time when the committee system was being introduced into the army and discipline was as a result non-existent, an officer, beloved by his men, while attempting to restrain his own regiment from an act of violence, was literally stamped to death; within an hour the same troops formed a funeral procession and, weeping, accompanied his remains to the grave. This is but one instance of many such described in that work, and it shows with some degree of probability what the average Russian peasant is like when the restraints of civilisation are removed. The Bolsheviks have had to reconstruct a society whose foundations they had knocked away. This is the difficulty which the absurd logic of revolutionaries always ignores, that you cannot make a man into an angel by first making him into a beast.

In his pamphlet written in April 1918, 'The Soviets at Work,' Lenin himself admits the moral ruin that accompanies revolution. He says: 'A great revolution and especially a socialist

'revolution, even if there were no external war, is inconceivable 'without an internal war, with hundreds and millions of cases of 'wavering and desertion from one side to the other, and with a 'state of the greatest uncertainty, instability and chaos.' It is characteristic of Lenin that he abhors and repudiates sentiment and makes no attempt whatever to cast a romantic glamour over revolutionary propaganda or its immediate effect on mankind. The idealism of Kropotkin and the humane element of the Russian revolutionary movement awake no sympathy nor respect in his heart. To him their due meed is not praise but condemnation, and there seems but little doubt that to the old-fashioned type of Russian idealist and Liberal reformer, if any such still remain within the limits of the Bolshevik dominion, there is no choice between death or exile, or acceptance and approval of the Bolshevik policy. Maxim Gorki, formerly an opponent of the Bolsheviks, is now their adherent, perhaps from sincere conviction, perhaps from prudence. The way of the Russian idealist has always been hard and demanded high courage. The repression and cruelty of the old empire have been greatly exaggerated, but beyond all doubt its hand was heavy on the too zealous reformer. The same courage and more is required, to-day when an offence against the Government is punished with far greater severity.

The interest of Lenin's writings is two-fold. He explains logically how society is to be destroyed and how it is to be rebuilt on the lines laid down by Marx; while in the pamphlet already mentioned, 'The Soviets at Work,' he gives an equally clear picture of the inevitable results of destroying social sentiment. His writings are also interesting as revealing the workings of the bleak and bitter mind of a political fanatic. He perverts history, has a superstitious reverence for formulae and, even in the twentieth century, sees no absurdity in declaring, or rather assuming, that the fundamental facts on which every social system has always hitherto been based can be altered in a generation.

These characteristics appear in a marked degree in his pamphlet, 'The State and Revolution,' written in August 1917, before the Bolshevik revolution. This pamphlet has for its sub-title, 'Marxist Teaching on the State and the Work of the 'Proletariat in the Revolution.' It was not completed because

the Bolshevik revolution took place in November of that year, and the author explains that his plans for completing the work were interrupted. 'It is more pleasant,' he remarks in the postscript, 'and more useful to live through the experience of a 'revolution than to write about it.' The work is, as its subtitle shows, an exposition of the Bolshevik view of Marxian teaching on revolution and the State. It contains likewise a bitter attack on various other Socialist groups, condemning their attitude to the war, their patriotic bias, their subservience to the bourgeoisie, their opportunism and their vulgarisation and mis-interpretation of Marx. The Fabians and the I.L.P. in England, Kautsky and his followers in Germany, among other Socialist sects, whether disciples of Marx or not, are the objects of Lenin's unmeasured contempt. He denounces such renegades from the true revolutionary faith, as 'Lackeys of the Bourgeoisie, 'Social-Democrat Traitors and Putrid Philistines.' All this abuse is of no interest in itself, except as another instance of the egotism, vanity, and mutual hatred which, as is well known, always exist among the leaders of revolutionary movements, and which may be taken as a more true indication of their feelings towards their brother men, than their bombastic pretensions of sympathy for the working classes. The real interest of the work lies in this, that it is an exposition of a theory by a fanatic of great ability and intense energy, who believes that by the inevitable force of events it will be in his power to convert his philosophy into action within a very short period.

It is strange with what academic precision Lenin analyses his master's work. He examines every passage to bring out what he considers to be the true meaning, and he adds to each work of Marx an appropriate historical comment to show the gradual development of Marxian revolutionary philosophy.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Marx had spent a considerable time in the study of the philosophy of Hegel, history and political economy, as a result of which he became convinced of the necessity for the complete destruction of the existing form of society. In every country there existed a large number of persons who were oppressed and exploited by a few tyrants. The form which this oppression took was the State, which existed, not to reconcile the different classes of the people,

but to enable the few to wage a ceaseless economic war on the many. The army, the police, the judges, the civil service, parliamentary institutions, religion, formed the State: that is, they were the instruments created by the capitalist class to oppress and deceive the workers. The whole system had to be shattered and shattered by violence.

What however was to take its place? At first Marx did not know, but the experience of the Commune of 1871 in Paris enabled him to complete his theory. The proletariat rose in Paris and swept away the Government, the police force, in short everything, and replaced the old system by a simple expedient. The people took over the business of administration, and formed a new kind of society on the principle of Communism. The workers in the different districts of Paris elected certain of their number to perform public functions. These representatives had to answer to their electors for what they did. They had to make regulations and carry them out, and could be dismissed at any moment. This system was in reality of short duration, but it gave Marx the ideal of a new society of self-governing communes in which State machinery would be unnecessary.

It is on this point that the Bolsheviks differ from other Socialists in their interpretation of Marx. There is amongst advanced revolutionaries apparently complete agreement that the capitalistic State must be destroyed, but the Anarchists on the one hand are content to destroy the State without troubling about what is to come after. They trust to the natural perfection of the proletariat to solve all difficulties. The Bolsheviks on the other hand maintain that while the new society of communes is in process of formation, a new temporary State must be created, with exactly the same purpose as the old, namely, oppression; only the roles of oppressor and oppressed are now reversed. Masters are slaves; slaves, masters. Naturally the bourgeoisie will not submit quietly to such a process. They will resist, at first with arms, later by sabotage, by strikes, by all sorts of counter-revolutionary intrigues and agitations to render unworkable the new civilisation. It will take a long time to destroy and suppress these agitators, hence the need of the State. As the agitators grow fewer the State grows weaker, and gradually disappears. The more violent of the bourgeoisie will be killed, some will die, some will make terms with the

workers. Lenin, here using Marx's terminology, describes this process as 'the withering away of the State.'

Lenin also suggests another reason for 'the withering away of the State,' and that is that the functions formerly discharged by an infinite number of parliamentary representatives, police, judges and other government officials, are really very simple and can be done by anybody. Any difficulty they may present in the capitalistic order is due to profiteering, which renders an elaborate system of book-keeping necessary. When profits are abolished an immense organisation is simply unnecessary. In the ideal State the work of government will consist of a few easy operations, giving receipts, keeping registers, and simple accounting. Anyone can do these things, and when Communism is fully developed, everybody will take his turn at administration. Again, parliamentary institutions in capitalistic society only exist to gull the workers; they contain however two principles necessary for the development of Communism, namely, representation and universal suffrage. Representatives of the workers will manage communal affairs and will act as boards of directors of industrial undertakings.

The name of the temporary oppressive Bolshevik State which leads up to this ideal regime is the 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat.' The Bolsheviks do not profess to know how long the process of 'withering away' will take. Some time must elapse before bourgeois ideas can be eradicated from the minds of the workers who have been corrupted by them. Gradually however the conception of different classes inevitably coexisting and receiving unequal rewards for their labour will vanish. After the revolution everybody must at once receive an equal wage, the wage of an ordinary working man. Later however this bare equality will give place to a new principle by which each citizen will give what he can and receive what he needs. The period which ensues when this new conception has been fully realised is called the period of Higher Communism. Communism, Marx thought, would grow out of capitalism naturally by an evolutionary and revolutionary process, after a series of abortive revolutions, taking over when it was first established all the technical development of capitalistic society. These are the lines upon which the Bolsheviks propose to carry out the transition from capitalism to the Higher

Communism. The statement is quite general; the pamphlet does not disclose the specific machinery appropriate to express the Dictatorship of the Proletariat beyond the necessity of the abundant use of force by the armed workers. Lenin declaims against opportunism, but, as events have shown, he does not consider the acceptance of any compromise or expedient inconsistent with principle, provided only it maintain himself and his colleagues in power.

The political organisation, which was in fact adopted by the Bolsheviks, for the effective realisation of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is set forth in the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, promulgated by the Fifth All-Russia Congress of Soviets on 10th July 1918. The purpose of the Constitution is thus expressed :—

‘The principal object of the Constitution of the Russian Federal Soviet Republic, a Constitution for the present period of transition, consists in the establishment (by means of a strong Soviet Government) of the dictatorship of the urban and rural workers, combined with the poorer peasantry, to secure the complete destruction of capitalism, the ending of the exploitation of man by man, and the bringing about of Socialism, under which class divisions and State coercion arising therefrom will no longer exist.’

This paragraph is followed by a series of provisions establishing an elaborate system of self-government for the Russian people by means of elected soviets or councils. The project of providing Russia with a complete system of self-government may well seem absurd if we consider the illiterate and backward condition of the vast bulk of the population, but it is less absurd than it seems if we take into account the record of the Zemstvo organisations and the success of the co-operative movement in Russia. It is safe to assert however that the scheme of political soviets has proved a farce. It is doubtful whether any serious attempt was made to put the Constitution into operation as a political organisation, although it is clear from recent disclosures of the Bolsheviks themselves that the Soviet system was introduced into industry with unsatisfactory results. We cannot suppose however that the Bolsheviks drew up their programme solely to deceive or to instruct the rest of the world in political theory.

The novelty in the Constitution is the linking together of

political and municipal with industrial organisation. It may be suitable for certain peoples. It has this disadvantage, that it must promote selfishness. A trade union representative will inevitably consider the interests of his union and those interests alone. He is in a very different position from a member of Parliament who represents all the inhabitants of a geographical area, and who is bound to give attention to claims from all classes of his constituents and advocate measures which may be detrimental to his own professional interests.

Whatever be the merits or demerits of this Constitution, the British Labour Party, as recent events have proved, does not regard it as unworthy of imitation. The Soviet Government have spared no expense or pains in advertising its benefits, and have found credulous admirers in this country to promulgate the new doctrine among the British working class. Mr. Goode, Colonel Malone, Mr. Ransome, and Mr. Lansbury have been made use of for this purpose. The Russian Code of Labour Laws, published by The People's Russian Information Bureau, is a less happy attempt at propaganda. It is worth while to examine these works and to compare them with the statistics which the Bolshevik economists have collected for their own information and have published in the *Pravda* (Truth), *Economicheskaya Jizn* (Economic Life), *Izvestia* (News), and other journals. The Soviet authorities have put themselves to no little trouble to prevent these newspapers from being circulated abroad. The International Labour Office of the League of Nations has ransacked Europe to obtain copies in an investigation conducted under the direction of the French Socialist, M. Albert Thomas, with the purpose of ascertaining the actual conditions under which the working classes are living in Soviet Russia, but so thorough and effective is the censorship that, so far as the year 1919-20 is concerned, only a few numbers were obtained. Notwithstanding the difficulty of getting reliable information, the International Labour Office has been able to extract from such newspapers as came into its hands a solid mass of details which show very clearly the value and character of the evidence which dubious pilgrims like Mr. Goode and other favoured guests of the Soviet Government have offered to the British public.

Mr. Goode visited Russia in the early autumn of 1919. He records his impressions and describes the administrative system

which the Bolsheviks at any rate in theory have created. Its main features may be gathered from his book, 'Bolshevism 'at Work.' It is clear from his account that, besides the political soviets, the Bolsheviks intended trade unionism to form a part of the administration of the country. In Russia however the organisation of the workers is not by trades but by industries. There are thirty industrial unions or professional alliances, each of which embraces a vast number of trades ; for example, the metal workers' union contains 290 trades. Each district of a city appears to have local industrial councils for each alliance with the necessary organisation. Presumably the city as a whole possesses similar councils. Above the cities are provincial councils, and above provincial councils, national councils, while above national councils again is the All-Russia Council of Professional Alliances, that is, simply an industrial congress.

There is finally an enormous army of officials attached to the different commissaries or ministries, who distribute themselves in countless numbers over Bolshevik Russia. Mr. Goode states that the food control department employs 200,000 agents to direct food distribution, 10,000 agitators who peregrinate the country using moral suasion to induce reactionary peasants in backward districts to part with their surplus grain, and a force of 40,000 troops to assist the agitators should persuasion be insufficient. It is said that no difficulty is now experienced in collecting food ; as Mr. Goode remarks, 'the presence of a 'detachment of the requisitioning army was always sufficient to 'cause sales to proceed smoothly.' We may suppose that these arrangements are still in operation.

Mr. Goode gives little indication as to the Bolshevik courts of law and legal procedure. The number of tribunals appears to be excessive. Moscow, it is said, boasts fifty-two people's courts ; Moscow has 1,000,000 inhabitants, and these fifty-two courts in one year succeeded in dealing with 90,000 criminal cases, which means that one in every twelve of the men, women, and children of Moscow had the misfortune to appear before a criminal court in one year. In addition to the people's courts, thirty-two revolutionary tribunals conduct cases of counter-revolution and speculation by officials, but they seem to have concentrated attention mainly on counter-revolutionary charges. An 'extra-ordinary commission' supplements the revolutionary tribunal,

and it is admitted that excesses took place at first under its jurisdiction.

The Bolsheviks have admitted that the workers are incompetent to manage industry. They have accordingly done away with any control that the workers may have had. For a time however some pretence of management by the workers did in fact exist. A gradual paralysis of industry was one result. Mr. Goode however was well satisfied with what he heard and saw in this connexion. He explains that economic affairs and production are worked on the trust system. Three thousand factories are grouped into trusts or combines for different industries. These are mostly national factories though some private enterprises still remain. At the time of his visit to Russia committees composed of technical experts and representative workers managed each combine, and each individual factory was controlled under the directions of the combine by expert managers and representative workers. A political department, the Commissariat of National Economics, regulated and controlled the trusts and individual factories, and had power to approve or disapprove of the appointments to the directorate made by the workmen. This department had branches over all Russia and innumerable officials. This department still exists under the name of Sovnarkhoz. The industrial unions appointed representatives to the different directorates but industries were not directly conducted by unions, as they would be on the syndicalist system. In addition to these committees and organisations each factory had a committee of workers to regulate internal management, that is to say, conditions of labour and similar matters.

Mr. Goode gives an interesting account of the Bolshevik land policy, which as applied to a country like Russia is sufficiently remarkable. The ideal of the Bolsheviks is that each village should be a factory, with collective ownership and management by the village Soviet, but the peasants prefer to have individual ownership and each family has its own little plot of ground allotted to it by Government surveyors. It is said that the Bolsheviks at first relied on the poorest peasants. They now however trust rather to the moderately rich peasants. The richest class of peasants, possibly the most industrious, is not friendly to the Soviet Government, and, according to

Mr. Goode, has a passion for hoarding grain with a view to private speculation and selling at a profit. It appears, however, that on the whole the Bolshevik Government is not popular with the peasantry. The agitators with their 40,000 troops may account for this dislike.

Mr. Goode describes two other State departments of the Bolsheviks which do not exist in Western democratic countries.

1. The Central School of Soviet Work. The students are installed in the Moscow Merchants' Club, a magnificent building. Seven hundred are trained at a time to act as propagandists of Communist principles in the provinces. The students are for the most part peasants with a sprinkling of intellectuals; fully a quarter are members of barbarous tribes, Kalmucks, Bashkirs, and Cossacks. As privileged people they are placed outside the food restrictions, and get abundance of food, tobacco, and other luxuries. They are chosen by the local Soviets. Two thousand are turned out per annum. The training lasts for four months. There are special courses for Cossacks, who study, besides Communist principles, such commonplace subjects as the management of cattle and forestry. They even tackle electrical railway construction and management. Besides engaging in propaganda work the students are trained to act as secretaries to Soviets, as teachers, as railway managers, and to fill various other posts in the provinces.

2. The other institution unknown to the West is a Commissariat of State Control, which inspects and supervises every official from the highest to the lowest, instructs local officials in their duties, and acts as a bureau for the reception and settlement of complaints against officials.

Mr. Goode's picture of Bolshevik administration is probably accurate as far as it goes. It does not go far however, for the simple reason that the writer only spent six weeks in Russia. He cannot speak Russian. He accepted in perfect good faith everything the Bolsheviks chose to tell him. When he wanted information on any subject, he went to the fountain head and interviewed the commissary within whose department the matter lay, and obtained a long disquisition which he laboriously reproduces. These statements he had little or no opportunity of verifying. He did in fact visit and inspect a cotton factory, a State farm, a school, and a sanatorium. He found the farm and

the factory to be models of successful administration. In his simplicity however he does not omit to mention that the number of men employed in the cotton factory had diminished from 15,000 to 6000 under the Bolshevik regime, and that although it is illogical to strike against oneself, there was in fact a strike going on in the factory at the time of his visit. It is of course obvious that once the capitalist has been expropriated it is extremely logical for a particular class of workmen to strike against the State to obtain a higher rate of pay than another class. This reflection does not occur to Mr. Goode. In his description of the model farm, Mr. Goode waxes enthusiastic over the sight of the fine breeding horses, pigs, and cattle on the farm. At the same time he casually mentions the fact that the estate formerly belonged to an enterprising farmer, whose able manager had been retained by the Soviet Government. Mr. Goode praises the Government for the interest and zeal for agriculture of which this farm is a proof, and states that many others exist in other districts. It would seem however on the facts as stated that in this instance the Soviet Government deserves rather the credit of having expropriated a valuable estate from an enterprising proprietor than of having created a new model farm. The reader is left in ignorance as to the fate of the former owner.

The account of the judicial system is equally naive. Mr. Goode does not comment with surprise on the colossal number of criminals in Moscow. Either the inhabitants of that city are superlatively wicked or the police are supernaturally active. We are told however that the streets were never so orderly as under the Bolshevik regime.

Mr. Goode is like a child listening to a fairy tale or hearing a playmate recount the mysteries of a new toy. He sits in the commissaries' offices and drinks in with indiscriminating ears their legend of a future prosperous and happy Russia. He shares their faith and hope in the new interesting experiment and does not condescend to investigate the price which has been and is being paid for it.

What this price is may be learned in sombre reality in the pages of the Russian Code of Labour Laws. It is difficult to understand why this document should be published in this country as an advertisement of Soviet Government. One thing

is certain, that the Russian worker in exercising the Dictatorship of the Proletariat has surrendered his own liberty. His life is severely regulated. For eight weeks after his birth his mother is permitted to look after him. Thereafter she returns to work. It may be supposed that the baby is left to the care of a Soviet nurse. He attends a communal school where he learns manual work, reading, writing and arithmetic. Schools have the right of self-determination and the comrade-teacher is like an elder brother. Madame Lenin is interested in this department, and does not like the harsh Western prefect system. The little pupils elect their Soviet. At the age of sixteen or eighteen the young citizen enters a life of complete regulation. The law describes his position rather quaintly. 'All citizens able to 'work have the right to apply their labour.' In the next section of the Code of Labour Laws it is laid down that 'the right to 'apply their labour applies firstly to those who are subject to 'compulsory labour.' At the age of fifty the right to apply his labour is compulsorily taken away from the citizen, who receives in exchange an old age pension. If however the citizen retains 50 per cent. of his average working capacity at the age of fifty or sixty as determined by medical inspection, he may compulsorily retain the right to apply his labour for another ten years.

On starting his profession each citizen is enlisted according to his speciality in an industrial union. He is placed in a category and receives the remuneration awarded to that category by regulations drawn up by the National Council of all Industrial Unions in co-operation with the Commissariat of Labour, and with directors of establishments and enterprises. The rate of remuneration varies with the category.

The law does not allow the Russian worker to have much choice of work. His movements are entirely controlled by the Department of Labour Distribution, which transfers him from one establishment to another according to the need for his services. Workers are not however transferred compulsorily from one district to another when volunteers can be obtained in sufficient numbers. The worker has no right to refuse work offered according to his speciality. He may request to leave his employment, and if the works committee are agreeable his request may be granted if he has good reasons for it, and on unreasonable refusal

he may appeal to his professional union. Any worker who receives additional remuneration beyond what the Code permits is held guilty of criminal deceit, and is punished by the deduction of the additional remuneration.

In return for the restraint thus imposed upon his liberty the Code contains provisions to secure the worker against unemployment and sickness. He is allowed to leave his work after examination by medical experts who determine also when he is to return. He receives the same pay when unemployed or sick as he does when at work, but if he voluntarily deserts work without the leave of the works committee he receives no unemployment benefit and starves.

Provision is made for an elaborate system of inspection of factories by Government officials, controlled by the Commissariat of Labour and the Commissariat of Health Protection. Everyone is required to work for eight hours a day, with the exception of the workers in certain trades. Forty-two hours are allowed off at the week ends, a fortnight's holiday is given at the end of six months' work, and a month's holiday at the end of a year's work.

A life of State regulation is not likely to appeal to the British worker; the experiment was tried during the war and was found wanting. Its results in Russia have been disastrous. This is proved by the extracts from Russian newspapers already mentioned, which have been published by the International Labour Office of the League of Nations. According to a Report of the Soviet Commissariat of Labour, between 1st January 1917 and 1st October 1918 the number of workers in the main industries of Petrograd had declined from 342,706 to 97,290. During the same period, out of 140 enterprises which replied to the inquiry made by the Commissariat of Labour, 44 stopped working. In 1918 the situation was still worse. The *Izvestia* of 16th March 1918 reports that according to the figures of the Statistical Section of the Commissariat of Labour, out of the total number of 670 industrial enterprises existing in 1917 in the Petrograd district, 246 had shut down. The state of industry in 1919 is thus described in the following report published with unconscious irony by the Economic Section of 'Sovnarkhoz' (Council of Popular Economy) on the occasion of the second anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution:—

Flax.—Of 72 nationalised factories 48 were working in October, 54 in November.

The situation of the hemp factories is bad, owing to the decrease in the acreage sown. Of 23 nationalised factories only 13 are working.

The silk industry is paralysed for lack of raw materials—49 factories have been nationalised and 23 are working.

The knitting factories have been nationalised and the whole 34 are working.

Wool.—For the wool factories the problem is entirely one of fuel. By 1st October, of 112 nationalised factories 36 were working; by November, 52.

Besides the terrible question of fuel and food supply, the problem of the workers is difficult to solve because of the recruiting needs of the Red Army; the classification of the workers is badly done. For lack of men they have to turn to women, for the working population is being taken at random.

But before everything else we must master the fuel crisis in order to save the textile industry from its approaching ruin.

In Petrograd the situation is disastrous. About 300 factories in Petrograd have had to shut down for the winter for want of fuel.'

These figures are a sufficient witness as to the Utopia which Soviet government has created in Russia. If a man be a good witness against himself they are enough to condemn any ruler. Further details are provided by statements published in various newspapers for March and April 1919. They all tell the same monotonous tale.

'The tobacco industry is going through an acute crisis.'

'The sugar industries of Great Russia are passing through 'a painful crisis.'

'The glass industry is ruined.'

The paralysis is general and affects every industry; it is not confined to manufactures dependent on foreign imports. It extends to the production of butter and to the raising of cattle. The condition of the worker amid the universal ruin may be illustrated by an estimate of the cost of living, furnished by the *Izvestia* of 27th September 1918. In 1914 for one man a ration consisting of white bread, milk, sugar, tea, vegetables, etc., was 1.52 roubles. In 1918 the same ration cost 56.77 roubles.

The Bolsheviks have tried various methods of combating the evils which they have created. The workers are underfed, inefficient, and lazy. As a remedy the Government has appealed to patriotism and organised 'weeks in aid of the soldiers at the 'Front.' The value of competition has been recognised. A

wireless message of 20th March of this year announces that 'Competition is a powerful means of raising the Intensity of 'Labour . . . the system of rewards must be one of the most 'powerful means of creating competition.' But this recognition of a well-known fact is too late, and the Bolsheviks have proclaimed the principle that 'Human labour is the property of the 'State.' A writer in the *Pravda* of 28th December 1919 observes: 'As we see, economic necessities will tend to develop 'military methods which in their turn will react on all spheres 'of administrative activity, but parallel with this there will arise 'a tendency to develop local initiative and to co-ordinate 'militarism with democracy.' This verbiage is translated into less obscure language by Trotsky, who in a document published in the same month states that 'The transition to a regime of 'universal labour service can only be accomplished by coercion, 'that is to say, by the armed forces of the State.' It would appear that the population are to be enrolled into labour battalions and coerced by 'a certain number of disciplined and 'experienced units, formed for the most part of the proletariat.' 'The situation is this,' says Lenin in January of this year: 'on 'the one hand, famine, cold, and typhus, and on the other a 'colossal energy, the extraordinary will of the working and 'peasant masses. . . . To cope with this situation we have created 'labour armies; we cannot demobilise our army and we cannot 'confine ourselves to the old capitalistic methods of fighting 'against misery and famine.' He goes on to say that some social revolutionaries, those belated defenders of capitalism, still speak of the liberty of labour at the moment of war against capitalism. This famous liberty is only the faculty of living in a starving country, a prey to speculation like the peoples of Western Europe at the present time. It is clear from these quotations that the Code of Labour Laws has undergone drastic amendment.

The compilers of the Report of the International Labour Office have done a very useful service in printing the results of their inquiry into labour conditions in Soviet Russia. They are perhaps too lenient in their criticism of the Bolshevik regime, and incline to regard the devil as not so black as he is painted. In the absence of definite information about the effect of nationalisation and the blockade of the Allies, they

offer no comment in explanation of the collapse of Russian industry. Nevertheless two causes may be suggested, the abolition of the rights of property and the abolition of the right to personal liberty. These rights are the foundation of civilised society. The Russian people are justly suffering from their too ready acceptance of the Bolshevik doctrine. Peasants and workers alike expected to become rich by the seizure of land and factories which were not legally theirs. The gifts of their new rulers demoralised them. Civil war and slavery have been the immediate result. In the end these rights will have to be restored. It would be a misfortune if this restoration were made by the Bolsheviks themselves, for in that event the present governors of Russia might retain their power and furnish the modern world with a glaring example of a dishonest and unscrupulous propaganda being crowned with abiding success. This is an unlikely consummation. In the meantime Russia is rapidly approaching the condition of infinite squalor described by Hobbes in treating of the state of mankind before the establishment of the Social Contract for the creation and maintenance of the rights of property and liberty.

‘In such condition there is no place for industry, because the fruit thereof is uncertain, and consequently no culture of the earth, no navigation nor use of the commodities that may be imported by sea, no commodious building, no instruments of moving and removing such things as require much force, no knowledge of the face of the earth; no account of time, no arts, no letters, no society, and, which is worst of all, continual fear and danger of violent death, and the life of man solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short.’

GEORGE H. CRICHTON.

THE ORDER OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE

1. *Catalogue d'art héraldique.* By M. DUTRY. Ghent. 1889.
2. *La Toison d'Or.* By Baron KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE. Brussels. 1907.
3. *Histoire de l'ordre de la Toison d'Or.* By Baron de REIFFENBERG. 1830.
4. *Mémoires historiques et politiques des Pays Bas autrichiens.* By Count de NÉNY. Brussels. 1785.

LEGEND says that Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, having heard that the lords of his court had laughed at the vivid colour of the hair of a beautiful lady of Bruges, who was highly placed in the princely favour, decided to silence the critics by making a lock of this lady's hair the insignia of the highest honorary distinction of his State, and the most coveted order of the continent of Europe. That such a legend should have arisen is not surprising. As M. Dutry writes, the unexpected creation of the new Order, and still more the name given to it by its founder, 'made imagination gallop,' and people tried to find for the Golden Fleece an origin as romantic as that of the Order of the Garter instituted by Edward III. in honour of the beautiful Countess of Salisbury, or of the Order of the Annunciation founded as a gallant compliment by Amadeus VI. of Savoy.

The very fact that it was during the festivities of his marriage with his third wife, Isabel of Portugal, that Philip the Good created, on 10th January 1429 (1430 N.S.), the Order of the Golden Fleece sufficiently proves the lack of foundation for the legend recalled above. No man would have selected such a moment for glorifying an irregular attachment. Indeed the grace and beauty of the princess, whose features are familiar to us through a charming Flemish portrait now in the Louvre, seem definitely to have fixed the fleeting fancy of her husband. He was so delighted with his new consort that in her honour he chose this device:—

'Aultre n'auray
Dame Isabeau, tant que vivray.'

Quite obviously the title of the Golden Fleece was borrowed from the story of Jason and the Argonauts, and its selection was doubtless due to the fervour of the first renaissance, which had revived the study of classic antiquity in the Ducal Court.

The creation of the Order of the Golden Fleece, though it actually occurred in the middle of great festivities, was the result neither of a sudden caprice nor of chance. The earliest historian of the Order, Georges Chastellain, says that the idea of the institution of the Golden Fleece had for a long time been in the mind of the Duke, and he chose his own wedding for the occasion of announcing his long meditated project. The wedding feast, which took place at Bruges with unparalleled pomp and splendour, attracted not only the Belgian nobility, but also a crowd of foreign princes and lords, ambassadors and rich merchants, from all countries. To this concourse of people the Duke announced the creation of a new order of knighthood which should eclipse all others.

Philip the Good was too great a statesman to wish his famous Order to exist solely to gratify vanity and a love of ostentation; he took a longer view. Not content with having grouped under his sceptre almost all the ancient Belgian principalities, he wished to form a solidly constructed State, which, if it had lasted, would for the great good of Europe have constituted a strong barrier between France and Germany. The Burgundian State, stretching from the North Sea to Switzerland, would have taken the place of ancient Lotharingia, and might perhaps have been the guardian of the peace in Western Europe.

The statutes of the Order show that its founder wished not only to revive the cult of honour and the respect of ancient chivalry, but also to establish a distinctively national organisation. A primary aim of the Order was to interest the élite of the *noblesse* in the prosperity of the Burgundian, or, to be more exact, the Belgian, State. For centuries the Order retained this essentially national character, clinging to the soil of the Belgian provinces. Until the conquest of Belgium by the French Republic at the end of the eighteenth century, the office of Grand Master of the Order of the Golden Fleece was inseparable from the sovereignty of the territories which, through so many vicissitudes and after so many successive

spoliations, have remained the kernel of the ancient Burgundian States.

When, in consequence of the hazards of succession throughout the centuries, the sovereignty of the Belgian provinces passed to foreign princes, the Grand Mastership of the Golden Fleece was transferred *ipso facto* to those same princes, and accordingly if they lost their sovereignty they lost with it all their rights over this coveted Order. A celebrated jurist, Chancellor de Nény, who was entrusted by the Empress Maria Theresa with the task of writing a memoir for the instruction of the heir presumptive, the future Joseph II., stated that 'the dignity of chief and 'sovereign of the Golden Fleece has been considered from all 'times as being attached to the sovereignty of the States formerly 'possessed by the House of Burgundy, and therefore the Kings 'of Spain of the House of Hapsburg only hold it by virtue of 'their position as possessors of the said States.'*

Within half a century from the foundation of the Order the male line of the House of Burgundy became extinct by the death of Charles the Bold in the moat of Nancy, and the independence of the Belgian provinces vanished for three centuries and a half. Maximilian of Austria, son-in-law of the dead Duke, hastened to declare, in letters patent dated October 1478, that he took the title of supreme chief of the Order of the Golden Fleece only in virtue of his marriage with Mary, sole heiress of the Burgundian dominions.

In 1555, when Charles V. decided to abandon the heavy burden of his almost universal monarchy, he remembered that the dignity of Grand Master of the Order was essentially attached to the possession of the States of the Dukes of Burgundy, and he created his son, Philip II., 'Chief and Sovereign' of the Golden Fleece while ceding to him the crown of the Low Countries. It was only two months later that, by a second act of abdication, he transmitted the kingdom of Spain and his possessions in Italy and the Indies to his same son. In 1598, when Philip II. ceded the Low Countries to his daughter Isabel, he expressly reserved to himself the dignity of 'Chief and 'Sovereign' of the Golden Fleece. This reservation proves that

* 'Mémoires historiques et politiques des Pays Bas autrichiens.' Vol. ii., pp. 25-30.

the dignity was not legally attached to the kingdom of Spain but to the sovereignty of the Low Countries, otherwise the stipulation would have been unnecessary.

Again, after the death of the Archduke Albert, when the Southern Netherlands returned to the Spanish monarchy, the Golden Fleece kept its essentially Belgian character. International public law never lost sight of the distinction that existed between the King of Spain, acting as such, and the same Prince acting as sovereign of the ancient Burgundian State. It was always in the latter quality that the Spanish monarchs exercised the dignity of Grand Masters of the Order of the Golden Fleece.

All contemporary authors are unanimous on this point. The illustrious historian Mézeray writes definitely on the subject, and the geographer Maty, after having spoken of the various orders of chivalry appertaining to the Spanish crown, says in formal terms, 'The Order of the Golden Fleece only belongs to the King of Spain in his quality of sovereign of the Netherlands, 'where it was instituted by the Dukes of Burgundy.'

Inigo de Brizucla, who, after having played an important part at the court of the Archduke Albert, became under Philip IV. president of the Supreme Council for the Low Countries at Madrid, and who always attempted, while holding this office, to reduce to a minimum the independence of the Belgian provinces, also proclaimed the essentially Belgian character of the Order of the Golden Fleece, which he contrasted with the 'Grandesse' in Spain.*

In fact, this illustrious Order formed a national institution with political prerogatives and numerous privileges. The knights residing in the Low Countries constituted a form of Supreme Council to the Government. Article 6 of the original statutes engaged the sovereign 'not to undertake any great matter without having consulted with his brother knights.' A new rule, introduced in 1473, gave the knights practical access to the Council of the sovereign. This privilege was specially confirmed by Maximilian and by Philip II. In 1539 and in

* 'Hispaniam suos quidem habere magnates, sed et Burgundiae non deesse suos, Velleris nempe Aurei equites, sanguine et heroicis virtutibus maximos.' J. Chifflet, 'Breviarum historicum inelyti Ordinis Velleris Aurei.' Antwerp: Plantin, 1652, p. 13.

1540 Charles V. called the knights together to discuss the measures to be taken with regard to the revolt in Ghent, and in 1562 Margaret of Parma invited them to Brussels to consult with her on the difficult situation in the provinces. Several times during the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the knights insisted on their right to be consulted in the affairs of the Government, and exercised an active patriotic influence.

Besides these political attributes, the Knights of the Golden Fleece formed the highest class of the national nobility, and enjoyed numerous prerogatives and exemptions which, confirmed by an edict of the Duke of Alba in 1532, lasted throughout all the political upheavals until the French conquest of 1794. These privileges were only enjoyed in the Low Countries and were never recognised, either in Spain or in the Spanish dominions in Italy, nor, later on, in the German provinces of the Hapsburg monarchy. In the same way all the knights who were not 'natives born' of the Low Countries or of Franche Comté, even the Spaniards, were always considered as foreigners and, as such, did not participate in the life of the Order, of which they were considered, in effect, as honorary members, elected at the wish of the sovereign and out of consideration for him.

All the solemn chapters of the Order were held in one or other of the Belgian towns, and though, after the time of Philip II., the chapters were no longer held by reason of the absence in Spain of the princes who ought to have presided over them, it was nevertheless in the Belgian provinces that all the active life of the Golden Fleece was manifested. The statutory fête of the Order was throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries always celebrated at Brussels on St. Andrew's Day. Moreover, the Knights of the Order were, as such, associated in all manifestations of national life. A curious picture of Fr. du Chastel, now in the Brussels Museum, depicts the knights, in 1664, leaving the Coudenberg palace in their full robes, to go to meet the new Governor-General, the Marquis de Castel Rodrigo. Some thirty years later, the Prince de Ligne, senior member of the Order in the Low Countries, called an assembly of the knights to decide on the funeral ceremonies to be celebrated at St. Gudule on the occasion of the death of Charles II. in 1700.

Until the French invasion, in 1794, the 'Chapelle' and the treasure of the Order remained in Belgium. The Treasurer, who collected all the revenues of the Order and gave an account of his stewardship to the Grand Master, was strictly prohibited from leaving the country. He had to guard the treasure of the Order, which was kept in its chapel adjoining the palace in Brussels. In 1715 the knights dared strongly to oppose the Emperor's desire to transfer to Vienna this chapel, which was regarded as the social seat of the Order, and he was obliged to submit to their decision.

Article 7 of the 'Instructions for the Officers of the Order' says that the Treasurer 'shall have charge of all the charters, 'privileges, letters, mandates, writings, and teachings touching 'the foundation and the appurtenances of this Order, and also 'the care of all the jewels, relics, ornaments and Church vestments, tapestries and library belonging to the said Order.'

Article 9 gives to the Treasurer 'the receipt of the revenues 'of the foundation and dotation of the said Order, and the gifts, 'inheritances, augmentations, profits, benefactions, and emoluments of the same . . . and he shall also do other missions 'and make the necessary expenditures at the command of the 'Sovereign of the Order or of his representative.'

It may therefore safely be stated that the Order of the Golden Fleece remained essentially Belgian until the end of the old regime, and the Grand Mastership was contingent on the possession of the Low Countries rather than on a purely hereditary right.

The War of the Spanish Succession, which followed the death of Charles II., the last male representative of the Spanish branch of the Hapsburgs, in 1700, had an important influence on the destinies of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Philip V. began by occupying the Low Countries and simultaneously claimed the Grand Mastership. In the course of the war the fate of arms went in favour of the Austrian Emperor Charles VI., who at once challenged the right of his rival to this dignity on the ground that it rested on the effective occupation of the ancient Burgundian States. The Emperor Charles even revoked the promotions which had been made by Philip. Neither the Treaties of Utrecht (1713) nor of Rastadt or Baden (1714) settled the question of the Golden Fleece as between the

Austrian Emperor and the Spanish King. Charles VI. continued to claim that he had legitimately inherited the Grand Mastership of the Order by the very fact that he had inherited the Low Countries with 'all the rights, pre-eminences, prerogatives, and 'pretensions' of preceding sovereigns of the Belgian provinces. Philip V. nevertheless maintained his claims as regards the Order, even though he did not possess any country, province, or district of the States which had originally belonged to the House of Burgundy.

It was thus that the Spanish Order of the Golden Fleece came into existence, but it was effectively a new Order since no territorial right over the Low Countries existed to justify the transference of the Grand Mastership of the ancient Order to a new King of Spain belonging to the House of Bourbon. A few years later the court of Spain took advantage of the difficulties of succession consequent on the death of the Emperor Charles VI., the last heir of the male line of the Austrian Hapsburgs, to endeavour to establish in a note of 17th January 1741 the contention that the dignity of the Chief of the Order of the Golden Fleece and the faculties belonging to it could only belong to King Philip V. But the claim was not admitted by the representatives of the Austrian Hapsburgs. Nor did the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in October 1748, which put an end to the war of the Austrian Succession, decide the question. In a note of 20th November 1748 the Ambassador of Spain protested against this omission and the Ambassador of the Empress, on the 26th of the same month, also presented a short note of counter-protest. But the matter went no further.

Thus, beginning with 1701, there existed in effect two Orders of the Golden Fleece, and this situation lasted until 1794. The Austrians in evacuating Brussels before the victorious march of the Republican armies, took away with them the treasure of the Golden Fleece and its archives, transferring to Vienna all its administrative machinery. From that date until the revolution of 1918 the Emperors of Austria remained the Grand Masters of the Order. Nevertheless the fact of the loss by Austria of the ancient Burgundian States—a loss which the Emperor Francis had to accept in signing the Treaty of Campo Formio in 1797—had taken from the Grand Mastership all its legal basis. Thus the Golden Fleece, though it became one

of the highest Austrian Orders, ceased to be the true representative of the essentially Belgian Order founded by Philip the Good. The Austrian Grand Masters from 1797 onwards illegally appropriated the name and the spoils of the ancient Burgundian Order.

Only a prince reigning *de facto* and *de jure* over the ancient Burgundian provinces has the power to resuscitate this glorious Order. Napoleon, when he became master of Belgium, seemed at one time desirous of reviving it, but at the same time he intended to enlarge it and merge it into the Spanish and Austrian Orders of the Golden Fleece. On 15th August 1809, his birthday, the all-powerful Emperor, who had just crushed Austria and made his brother Joseph King of Spain, signed a decree at the Castle of Schönbrunn creating the Order of the Three Golden Fleeces. But, from force of circumstances, this decree was never executed and the Order, which the Emperor intended to take precedence of all other distinctions of the French Empire, was never conferred.*

When William of Orange became King of the Netherlands in 1815, it appears that he also wished to revive the national Order of the Golden Fleece. But circumstances were not propitious. His kingdom, artificially created by the Congress of Vienna, had too much need of the support of the Powers for him to risk difficulties with Austria. William had to content himself with a modest assertion of his claims by putting the cross and briquet of Burgundy on the insignia of the order which was destined to recompense the heroes who had risked their lives at Waterloo for the defence of the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands.

Circumstances are very different now. Since 1830 the old Burgundian State has lived again, in full independence, as prosperous and glorious as in the far-off days of the great Dukes of the West. It has just emerged victorious from the most terrible crisis known to history. Why should not King Albert seize this opportunity to revive the most celebrated of the orders of chivalry on the continent? Why should not Belgium possess an order of chivalry to compare with the

* 'Les Trois Toisons d'Or.' F. Masson. Article paru dans *Historia*, t. v., p. 66. Paris, 1911.

Garter of England, the Annunciation of Italy, the Seraphim of Sweden, the Elephant of Denmark, the Lion of Norway? All these orders contain only one class of knights, and are held in exceptional esteem owing to the small numbers of their holders. No obstacle as regards international law now exists to prevent this restoration. Since the fall of the Hapsburg monarchy, the Austrian Order has itself disappeared, and none of the present democratic authorities in Austria would be lawfully competent to raise the question of this essentially monarchical order.

With the disappearance of the Austrian Order, Spain remains alone in the possession of an Order of the Golden Fleece, and she has no valid objection to put forward. As we have shown above, when the crown of Spain, in 1713, lost all its rights over the Belgian provinces, it also lost its rights over the Burgundian Order founded by Philip the Good. The Spanish Order of the Golden Fleece has no connexion with the Burgundian Order except in the similarity of name. Nor is it likely that Spain having already seen in existence for two centuries an Austrian Order of the Golden Fleece, would oppose, after the disappearance of the Austrian monarchy, the revival of the original Order by the sovereign of the country which, in international society, has succeeded to the old Burgundian State.

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THE PRINCIPLE OF RELATIVITY

1. **Relativity : The Special and the General Theory.** By ALBERT EINSTEIN. Authorised translation by Robert W. Lawson. Methuen & Co. 1920.
2. **Space, Time, and Gravitation : An Outline of the General Relativity Theory.** By A. S. EDDINGTON, F.R.S. Cambridge University Press. 1920.
3. **The Foundations of Einstein's Theory of Gravitation.** By ERWIN FREUNDLICH. Authorised English Translation by Henry L. Brose. Preface by Albert Einstein. Introduction by H. H. Turner, F.R.S. Cambridge University Press. 1920.
4. **Space and Time in Contemporary Physics : An Introduction to the Theory of Relativity and Gravitation.** By MORITZ SCHLICK. Rendered into English by Henry L. Brose. With an Introduction by F. A. Lindemann. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1920.

FROM time to time in the history of science a critical period is reached when some new theory is broached that seems to upset our pre-existing modes of thought. As a rule, the multitude of small steps by which science moves forward is found of little interest by the general public : nor indeed have these small steps generally any very profound significance. But after they have accumulated for many years, they constitute a large sum of new knowledge, which cannot be neglected in our general theories of life and the universe. Our old theories are no longer large enough to hold them : a philosophic reconstruction takes place : an effervescence of thought, during which old theories go by the board, and new theories are introduced wide enough to contain the new knowledge in addition to the old. These critical periods are apt to involve wholesale revolutions in thought. They involve the abandonment of much that previously had never been questioned. The alterations are so profound as to shake our conception of ourselves and the universe to the very foundations. If we held such erroneous views before, how many more of our most certain convictions may not be overthrown hereafter ? Is there anything of which we can be quite certain ?

The revolutions of thought, to which we refer, are found as

a matter of fact to be always of the same character. They one and all without exception take us farther away from the personal, egocentric view of nature: and they substitute a view more and more remote from that which presents itself to us as individuals looking out of the narrow window of our minds upon the things which we can see for ourselves passing by. Inevitably each of us finds that he himself is the centre of the universe. We only know of things as they strike us: the farther things are from the experience of our senses, the less we know of them, the less real they become. We are each at the centre of our own universe, and in primitive thought we establish laws of the universe on the supposition that we *are* at the centre of it. But then we find that they do not coincide with the laws drawn up by other people; for their centre is a little different from ours. Hence it becomes necessary to take up a broader outlook—a more detached point of view—in which we realise that we are not each actually at the centre of the universe: that we are less important than we had supposed in the system of nature, and that things are best understood by taking up some new point of view differing from our private and peculiar outlook.

Thus it used to be supposed that the earth was the centre round which the sun and all the heavenly bodies revolved. Galileo and Copernicus introduced a revolution of thought, by which we ceased to be at the centre of the sidereal and solar systems, but instead played quite a subordinate part therein. For long after it was supposed that mankind occupied a unique place among living beings. Darwin introduced another revolution of thought, by which we fell from the position of splendid isolation which we had arrogated to ourselves, and were found to be merely one family of *Primates*, blood cousins of the apes, and lineal descendants from the lowliest inhabitants of the primeval ocean. And thus we get a clue to the general vice of thought, which necessitates a periodical revolution with advancing knowledge. That vice is due to the natural assumption of our own centrality. The new knowledge is in some respects incompatible with that assumption: hence a reorganisation of our ideas, as a result of which we look at things from a less personal, a truly broader point of view.

It was but natural that the latest revolution in thought should come from physics. Last century biology settled down into the

enlarged framework provided by the theory of evolution: the tension of facts within current theories ceased to be acute. During the present century, discoveries in physics have been pressing hard against the wooden boundaries of our preconceived opinions. Mass was found no longer to be an unalterable quantity, but to vary with velocity: nay, matter itself seemed to vanish away, resolved into infinitesimal specks of electricity, with no bodily support, scattered at relatively wide intervals, and flying to and fro at incredible velocities. Heat, light, and even motion were found to have weight, quite apart from matter. It was clear that the limits of our philosophic prepossessions were too narrow to comprehend these new facts, straining on every side for a larger theoretical framework, in place of that which had become too small for them. Something must burst somewhere. Something did burst: our most unquestioned convictions were shot sky-high, and the PRINCIPLE OF RELATIVITY dawned upon the scene, ousting mankind once again from his self-constituted position as centre and arbiter of physical events in the universe.

When Galileo said that the earth went round the sun, and when Darwin said that men were related to apes, the public finding these propositions unpalatable and annoying, viewed them (as they always do view things which they dislike) with grave moral misgivings. The clergy considered that the matter was one which they could not pass over: Galileo was forced to recant, and confess in the interests of true morality that the sun did really go round the earth, and that he had only denied it by way of a joke, which he now perceived to have been of a most improper character. In the nineteenth century things were different. Nobody threatened to burn Darwin, but the clergy held that the matter was one for them to deal with, and eloquently expounded to their flocks the moral obliquity and therefore the untruth of the new theory. The principle of relativity has been more fortunate. There is scarcely another case on record in the history of science of so great a revolution receiving such widespread acceptance within so brief a period of time; and that, too, notwithstanding its paradoxical and astonishing statements.

In concrete science, the object is to describe the facts of nature as we should see them if certain conditions existed.

In astronomy, the movements of stars and planets are described as we should see them if we could get a bird's eye view from some external point of vantage. In chemistry, the constitution of matter is described as we should see it if we had eyes of infinite penetration and could situate those eyes wherever we wished. In geology, the deposits of strata and the history of the earth are described as we should see them if we could transfer ourselves back into the past. All these sciences merely describe how our senses would be affected, if they were in a favourable position for observation. And the principle of relativity does no more. It merely describes what the world would look like if, instead of having two stationary eyes, we had one eye stationary and the other darting to and fro with nearly the velocity of light. We can well imagine that things would look very different from what we now see. They would in fact appear to exist in four dimensions, instead of in three. All objects would have not only height, length, and breadth, but a fourth attribute connected with what we call time.

The same appearance would be given if we ourselves were bodily moving through space with a velocity that varied from time to time, but occasionally approached the velocity of light; or again, if some heavenly body were now to fly past us at a speed of that order. It would then appear to be of a different shape from what it had seemed to be when it was at rest. It would appear to be flattened in the direction in which it was moving. Supposing for instance that the moving object was a book, and that it was moving sideways (*i.e.*, as it would move if pushed from one end to the other of the shelf upon which it was standing), it would then appear to be a thinner book than if it was stationary. If it was moving back foremost (*i.e.*, straight out from its shelf), it would appear of normal thickness and normal height, but would be so narrowed as to appear capable of standing on a very narrow shelf. Yet it could not really stand on such a shelf, since the moment it stopped moving it would resume its normal dimensions. Once again, if it were moving straight upwards, the top edge going first, it would then appear to be a very short book, which would stand upright between two shelves very near together. In short the apparent dimensions of an object vary according to its velocity of motion. If we were situated on such an object and passing other objects,

they equally would appear to be flattened. Every observer takes the point of view that he is at rest, and that the other people are moving: he thinks that his dimensions remain unaltered, while they become flat. Well, it would seem that they cannot all be right; but the odd thing is that they can. This is what is meant by relativity. If length were an absolute quantity, then a rod obviously could not be both 4 inches and 6 inches long, according as we turned it this way or that. But according to relativity, length is not an absolute property of the rod: it is merely due to the way an observer looks at it: he reads into external nature what really exists only in his own mind.

So far, there is nothing particularly hard to understand. Just the same effect is noticed in practical life if we look into a curved mirror: all dimensions in one direction are shortened, and in another direction lengthened. Certain restaurants have taken advantage of this for advertising purposes. Before you enter, you look into a mirror, and see yourself very long and thin. On going out, you look into another, and see yourself very short and fat. All that is implied by the contraction theory is that we are looking out on the universe through distorted glasses: the degree of distortion depends on the velocity of the object we are looking at. The only complication is that we can never tell what is a distorted view from what is an undistorted one, because we have no knowledge of absolute motion, but only of motion relative to ourselves. All points of view are therefore equally proper and equally true.

Another peculiarity about bodies in rapid motion is that events would appear to move with extreme slowness on them. If it were possible to follow the doings on a very rapidly moving body with the help of a telescope, we should find after the lapse of an hour or so, that their clocks had only moved a few minutes, and in fact that events of every kind had slowed down. Time seems to have suffered a deformation similar to that of space, as though it were a cinematograph show, in which all events were greatly protracted. And on the other hand, from the point of view of the moving body, events therein seem to proceed at quite the normal rate. For them, it is our events here that seem to be delayed. When *they* look at *our* clocks through their telescopes, they find that while theirs have marked an hour, ours have only

moved a few minutes. Clearly both cannot be right. Yes, but they can, and are : that is the principle of relativity.

So far, the theory is quite easy to understand. It taxes our credulity, no doubt ; it is not easy to believe, but it is plain what the statements mean. They merely inform us what other bodies would look like, if they moved past us at high velocity. Since other bodies do not move past us with high velocity, we cannot check it personally ; but we have no ground whatever for questioning the conclusions of science in this respect. We are bound to accept the proposition that bodies would present these singular appearances under the conditions named. None of them are quite outside our normal experience. Curved mirrors and cinematographs already show us a kind of distortion in space and time. The consumption of opium has a similar effect, as described by de Quincey :—

‘The sense of space, and in the end the sense of time, were both powerfully affected. Buildings, landscapes, etc., were exhibited in proportions so vast as the bodily eye is not fitted to receive. Space swelled, and was amplified to an extent of unutterable and self-repeating infinity. This disturbed me very much less than the vast expansion of time. Sometimes I seemed to have lived for seventy or a hundred years in one night ; nay, sometimes had feelings representative of a duration far beyond the limits of any human experience.’

Even for humanity, a comparative alteration in the standards of space and time is thus a recognised occurrence. If we include lower animals, standards must be still more variable. A sea-gull’s idea of space must be very different from that of the parasite which lives among its organs without any power of locomotion. And our idea of time must be altogether different from that of the *ephemerides*, whose whole life is passed within the compass of a few hours. Which is the right idea ? Neither more than the other ; for space and time are *relative* to the mind which perceives them.

Such being the facts, what is the explanation ? It is here that the theory becomes difficult to follow ; for it involves the fourth dimension, which cannot be visualised by any effort of the imagination. In fact, the theory becomes entirely mathematical. Mathematics uses symbols to which no physical meaning can be attached. The fourth dimension is just such a symbol, and the whole difficulty arises from the impossibility of translating it

into a visual perception. How far a thing which is inconceivable can actually exist, is a point we shall raise later. It is first necessary to show how a fourth dimension is involved.

We are accustomed to describe the dimensions of an object by naming its height, length, and breadth. If a bookseller desired to advertise the exact size of a book, he would only need to give three measurements, namely, how high it was, how long it was, and how fat it was. In the matter of physical size, an impending customer would then know all about it. As a matter of fact, there would be considerable vagueness about the result, which might lead to serious misunderstanding. Here is a copy of Webster's Dictionary: two persons have just measured its three dimensions, and they have both measured it accurately; but their results appear entirely contradictory. One says it is 12 inches high, and the other says it is 6 inches high: one says it is 9 inches long, and the other says it is 12 inches long: one says it is 6 inches broad, and the other says it is 9 inches broad. How does the discrepancy arise? Simply in this: that one of them measured it when it was standing up and the other when it was lying down. Height, length, and breadth are arbitrary expressions: they are purely *relative to the observer*; and the misunderstanding which arises is just that which causes perplexity to students of relativity. In practical life, we usually mean by height the dimension up and down; but confusion often arises between width and length. In space there *is* no up and down, and the direction in which we make our three measurements is quite arbitrary, except that they are all at right angles to each other. If therefore two people, both measuring accurately, find different values for the three dimensions of some object in space, we infer that they have probably been taking their measurements in different directions. Now, that being so, when we find that two observers differ in their measurement, say, of the length of a body, we anticipate that the difference will be compensated in their measurements of its height or its breadth, or both. What is lost in width will be gained in length for instance, so that whatever measurements are adopted, the *volume* of the body will be the same for both observers. The product of the three dimensions for each observer will be the same. Now let us apply this explanation to the case of the body moving with great velocity through

space, and appearing to be flattened fore and aft, though an observer on the body itself perceives no such flattening. We ask if there is any compensating difference in their respective estimates of the other two dimensions. There is not: height and breadth are found to be the same for both: it is only as to the length that they differ. But if a body really exists in four dimensions, instead of three as we suppose, the compensation may take place in the invisible fourth dimension. And this is exactly what happens. The fourth dimension is called time, and the slowing down of events on the moving body is found to compensate exactly for the shortening of its length.

Why have we no sense for perceiving the fourth dimension? It is because that dimension never varies for all observers on the earth. There is but one standard of time for us all, and since it is always the same, we leave it out of account, and have no organ for detecting it, and are unable to visualise it. It only becomes different for a body moving with a velocity widely different from our own; but when it becomes different, the spacial measurements must also become different by compensation. In short, there are not two separate things, one called space of three dimensions, the other time of one dimension. There is one thing, called space-time of four dimensions.

It was pointed out that in whatever three directions a body is measured, its volume will always turn out to be the same: its volume is a reality independent of the direction in which we measure it. The same applies to distance. Supposing that we find a certain point to be 3 yards east of us and 4 yards north of us, its actual distance will be 5 yards in a direction approximately north-north-east. This is given by the well-known proposition of Euclid that the square on the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle is equal to the sum of the squares on the other two sides. Supposing however our compass happened to be out of order, so that its north pole was pointing north-west and its eastern point directed therefore to north-east, what should we find? The point would appear to be about 2 yards north of us and about $4\frac{1}{2}$ yards east of us. The sum of their squares still gives 25, and the distance of the point is 5 yards as before. In short, we may measure the length and breadth of a thing in as many different ways as we like: its

absolute distance always pans out the same, if our measurements have been accurate.

Now in space-time of four dimensions there is similarly a certain quantity which is totally unaffected by any variations of our methods of measurement. It is called the 'interval' between two events. As already stated, an observer in rapid motion would differ from us about the length of objects and about the time standards prevailing thereon; but he would always agree with us as to the interval between two events measured through space-time. The interval between a man's birth and death may be, for one observer, 1000 miles and seventy-five years; for another observer it will be many million miles and seventy-six years.* The quantity remaining constant for both is the square of the distance travelled by the man between his birth and death *minus* the square of the distance travelled by light during the same period. This quantity never alters, from whatever point of view we may regard it. It is no good trying to form a physical conception of an 'interval': it is what is called in mathematics an imaginary quantity, like the square root of *minus* one. In three-dimensional space we can represent the distance between two points by a straight line drawn from one to the other. But in four-dimensional space-time we cannot represent the 'interval' between two events as a straight line or any other line. It is not intelligible except as a mathematical formula. It is hard to understand, only when we try to visualise it, for this is quite beyond the range of our limited senses.

The true meaning of relativity is elucidated if we imagine a universe in which nothing exists but a single globe of matter. Suppose we wished to determine whether this globe was in motion or not, how should we set about it? The special principle of relativity states that an observer upon that globe could not by any experiments detect its motion through space. Everything upon it would proceed in exactly the same way whether the globe was stationary or moving at a million miles an hour. In practical life the only method of deciding whether a body is in motion is to watch whether it changes its position *relative* to other bodies. But if there *are* no other bodies in the

* This illustration was used by Dr. J. H. Jeans at a meeting of the Royal Society last February.

universe this resource is cut off from us. There are then no means whatever of determining whether it is in motion; and perhaps it is not very hard to see that the question itself has no meaning. Supposing we say it is moving at a million miles an hour, what do we mean? It is not getting nearer to anything, or farther from anything, since there is nothing else in our assumed universe for it to get nearer to or farther from; and events occurring on it occur in exactly the same way, whatever assumptions we make about its motion. All we know is the existence of the globe; and if we say it is moving, we say what gives us no real information, and what in fact means nothing. It is not merely that we cannot determine its motion. It is that motion is an imaginary conception, where there exists only one body in the universe. And we can see that space also is an imaginary conception under these conditions. Our idea of space is of something through which a body can move; and as we lose the idea of motion, we lose also the idea of space.

Now suppose that instead of one body there were two bodies in the universe, moving relatively to one another, but each keeping the same face or aspect towards the other. It is plain that whatever their motions may be, they will always appear to be either stationary, or moving in a straight line towards or away from each other. The only detectable change of position would be that of increasing or diminishing distance from one another: any other kind of motion would be impossible without some third body as a standard of reference. An observer situated on the third body might see one of the first two looping the loop or performing any other curious antics; but if neither of these two were aware of a third body, these antics would be totally unknown to either of them. All they would perceive would be that their distance was increasing or diminishing at varying speed. And if subsequently they became aware of the third body, they might attribute the changes of distance which they perceived to its motion rather than to their own. In short, change of distance is all that can be known. Absolute motion is not merely unknowable: it is meaningless: from which it follows that absolute space is likewise meaningless.

The conception of space, like that of motion, follows therefore upon the existence of material bodies. Space is wholly dependent upon matter: apart from matter, it is meaningless.

We cannot see it, we cannot feel it. Space is not a thing; it is only an idea, based upon our conception of matter. And if space is thus dependent upon matter, we shall perhaps be prepared to hear that the magnitude of space is dependent upon the density of matter. A globe of water of radius 350 million miles would fill the whole of space. But in fact the average density of matter throughout our universe is very much less than that of water; and it is calculated that the space appertaining to our universe is more or less of a sphere whose radius is of the order of 400 trillion miles. All things would be comprised within this sphere; 'outside it' would be an expression devoid of meaning. Supposing a body were to set forth and move for ever in an apparently straight line, it would nevertheless always remain within the sphere. Light in fact does move at high velocity; but light cannot move outside the sphere of space: it merely travels 'round' the sphere, taking about 1000 million years to do the whole journey. Thus it is suggested that we might *see* things that happened 1000 million years ago, the light from them having passed round the universe and arrived back again. Professor Eddington even suggests that some of the spiral nebulae are really 'phantoms of our own 'stellar system'—ghosts returned to the haunts where they lived 1000 million years ago.

The foregoing doctrine constitutes a severe tax on the credulity of the layman. How can it be true that space has a finite content and yet no boundaries? How can its volume be limited and yet not be enclosed within any limits? Analogies from space of one and two dimensions give some assistance towards realising what is meant. Space of one dimension is a line, and if the line be joined up at its ends, it ceases to have ends, while yet its length is finite. Space of two dimensions is a surface. If the surface be that of a sphere, then again the surface has no boundaries, and yet its area can be accurately measured, and is a finite quantity. An insect could walk about on the surface for ever without being any nearer to getting off it; and if nothing whatever existed in the universe except that surface, then space would consist of the surface and nothing more. It would be infinite in the sense of never having an end: it would be finite in the sense of having a definite area.

Now, both in the case of the line and of the surface, if they

are to be of limited extent, they must be curved. A straight line going on for ever would have an infinite length: if it is to have a finite length and yet no ends, it must curve round to join up with itself. This curvature takes place in the *second* dimension: that is to say, it must enclose an *area*, and an area is that which has breadth as well as length. So that although the line itself has only length and is only of one dimension, when closed up it involves space of two dimensions. The same holds true of surfaces. If the surface is absolutely flat, then it must have an infinite area. But if it is of finite area, and yet has no boundaries, it must be curved in the third dimension, so as to enclose within it a fixed volume, like a sphere, or a cylinder, or a sausage, or any other enclosed space.

The space of our universe is similarly said to have no boundaries, and yet to be of finite and measurable volume. This is accounted for on the same principle, viz., that our three-dimensional space is curved in the fourth dimension. Professor Einstein himself thinks it is curved like a cylinder; others assign to it a different shape, but it is all a question of mathematical formulae which cannot be rendered into visual terms. As soon as the fourth dimension comes in, our capacity for visualisation goes out. It is easy enough to conceive a finite quantity, yet without boundaries, in space of one or two dimensions. It is only by that analogy that we get a sort of idea as to what is meant by speaking of the curvature of space, and how our space as a whole can be a measurable quantity, where we can move for ever in what appears to be a straight line, and yet never get farther than a certain number of trillion miles from where we started.

The principle of relativity, as at present formulated, does not entirely get rid of the absolute. There is for instance, according to Professor Eddington, an absolute future and an absolute past. We are allowed to continue regarding time as an infinite and unmeasurable stretch which never began and will never end. The idea of simultaneity however is banished. If two events, A and B, occur in space, they may be simultaneous for one observer, while for another observer A happens before B, and for a third observer B happens before A. The principle of relativity precludes us from saying that one is right and the others wrong. They are all equally correct;

simultaneity is not an absolute, but only a relative. It depends on the time standards adopted by the different observers, and one time standard is just as true as another.

Another absolute quantity admitted by the principle of relativity is the velocity of light, which always remains the same whatever standards of space and time are adopted. And yet a third absolute quantity is the 'interval' between two events, as already mentioned.

According to Newton, a body in space moves for ever in the same straight line, so long as it is not affected by outside forces. That is to say, it moves from one point to any other in its course by the shortest possible route between them. According to Einstein, a body moves, not in space, but in space-time; and it moves from one point to any other in its course by the *longest* possible route. During its career it will naturally encounter portions of space which are strongly curved. It is held that space in the neighbourhood of matter is much curved, and away from matter comparatively flat. When a body approaches another, therefore, it will be entering a deformed region of space. It holds on its course through that space just as before; but owing to the curvature, it will no longer appear to us to be travelling in a straight line but in a curved orbit. Hence the fact of gravitation is accounted for, without any need for supposing the existence of a gravitational force of attraction. The conception of force indeed is purely anthropomorphic: it is derived from our personal experience of human action on external objects. It is a high recommendation of the relativity principle that it takes us a step further in the dehumanisation of nature: the reduction of all things to a complete materialistic scheme, unalloyed by any assumption of human methods or sentiments.

The principle of relativity forcibly suggests certain fundamental philosophical reflections. To what extent can a thing be true that is totally inconceivable? Herbert Spencer affirmed that whatever was inconceivable must be false. Yet there are inconceivabilities here on both sides of the question. That force can act through a distance is inconceivable. A force of gravitation is just as inconceivable as the fourth dimension; but it is one of those inconceivabilities with which we are so familiar that it requires some effort to work up a suitable feeling

of astonishment. Moreover, as previously remarked, the fourth dimension would become apparent if we had one eye roaming about at high velocity. We must not limit nature, because we have only five senses. In this case we can actually state what is the nature of the sixth sense required to visualise the phenomena. In short, a thing may be true, even though it has no physical interpretation: for by physical interpretation is meant interpretation into the language of the few and feeble senses with which we are endowed.

Many curious questions arise which have not been answered by the relativists. For instance, they allege that bodies become flatter as they move faster, until when they have reached the velocity of light, they no longer have any thickness left. When they travel at this velocity or near to it, they would look like infinitely thin planes flying through space. Now the layman naturally wants to know what they would look like if they were moving *faster* than light. To this it has been replied that no material body *can* move faster than light, because its inertia becomes infinite. We venture to suggest to the protagonists of relativity that they should make this point somewhat clearer. They admit apparently that a particle may move with a velocity nearly equal to that of light: we know in fact that in radio-activity the β -particles do travel with a velocity of that order. Now supposing two such particles were to pass each other in opposite directions, their combined relative velocity would greatly exceed that of light. What would one look like as viewed from the other? As their velocity increased they would get gradually thinner, till at last they were mere surfaces. And with further increasing relative velocity, would they begin to thicken out again, with an imaginary quantity for the third dimension? Would time seem to move backwards, so that a particle reached the end of its journey before it had started, and the inhabitants of it died before they were born? That is the conclusion with which we are left, notwithstanding the remarkable success with which Professors Einstein and Eddington have set forth the theory of relativity. May real things become imaginary if we take up the proper point of view, and may there be other imaginary universes, who think it is our universe that is imaginary—a universe turned literally inside out?

Objections have been raised to the theory of relativity on

the ground that it is a metaphysical doctrine, repugnant to the scientific spirit; and it is only natural, in view of the vast quantity of fraudulent metaphysics poured into the world, that so surprising a theory should be held for a time in suspicion. It differs however in two fundamental features from all the theories of metaphysics. In the first place, it is susceptible of verification by observation; and in the second place, it is wholly materialistic in character: that is to say, it does not interpret phenomena in terms of human feelings, or from a spiritualistic standpoint. Metaphysical theories are apt to endow nature with more or less human attributes: magnified, exalted, metamorphosed, but still derived ultimately from analogy with the human mind. The principle of relativity, on the other hand, describes nature in terms more distant from human sentiments than ever previously conceived. With this new doctrine we get farther away than ever before from the primitive outlook of human centrality. It is the last word in the deanthropomorphisation of nature. It is the triumph of universal law, on a scale previously unimagined: the perception that nature is a blind mechanism whose mechanics are deprived of the last vestige of concepts derived from human feelings. We learn from it that many things are true which cannot be rendered in terms of human senses. But that after all was the same with Newtonian mechanics. Force, time, space, and numerous other concepts cannot be seen or touched or smelt. They are purely mental fabrications, which may suitably be abandoned as soon as some other framework has been invented better capable of co-ordinating known facts. It is only the universal familiarity with these conceptions that prevents us from noting their fundamentally metaphysical nature. Matter itself is a conception, or generalisation, built up from experience, and not, as used to be imagined, a primitive and absolute fact. Nearly all the paradoxes of relativity can be paralleled by paradoxes arising from the older way of looking at things. Aether is an assumption forced by absolutist philosophy, that contains within itself every known metaphysical vice. It is not based on observation or experiment, for both contradict it: it is a new entity, invented *ad hoc*, to 'explain' phenomena in terms of human vision. It combines a number of impossible and incompatible qualities: it sets up an 'absolute' in nature, which

represents the universe as the same kind of world that we each live at the centre of, though on a vastly larger scale. Paradox is inherent in nature, not in the relativity view of nature. The absolutist view has as many paradoxes as the relativist, and more; but they are pushed into the background, and are less noticed in consequence. Paradox is inherent in nature, because man is not the measure of all things: because there are many things in nature which will not fit into the narrow compass of the human mind. Relativity has merely brought them into the open. It has not *made* these paradoxes: it has only brought them out where they can be seen, and are now seen for the first time by many who never before suspected their existence. The haunting fear of paradox has always been the bane of science. Observation and experiment lead us to such strange worlds that their plainest conclusions are even now often disputed, as for instance in the physiological mechanistic theory. All we have to do is to follow rigorously wherever observation and experiment lead us, regardless of philosophic consequences. Our house is then built upon a rock, from which we may survey the devastation wrought by the waves of scientific knowledge upon our ancient mental habitats: secure for a time in our new home, but fully conscious that sooner or later we shall again have to move forwards, and to go on moving forwards, until the stagnation of scientific discovery at last permits us to rest in peace—the peace of extinction and death.

HUGH ELLIOT.

PARASITIC INSECTS: THE STREPSIPTERA

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THE student of parasitism will find the Strepsiptera—the twisted-winged insects—one of the most interesting groups. He will do so partly on account of their remarkable life history and the divergence between the two sexes, and partly on account of the strange effects which the parasites have on their hosts. These latter are for the most part wasps, bees and homopterous leaf-hoppers. In 1813 the Rev. William Kirby, one of the fathers of British entomology, suggested that these minute insects, which are in so many ways anomalous, should form an order of their own. This view is now accepted by the best authorities as well founded; but in many text-books, even down to recent days, they are treated as *Stylopidae*, a single family included among beetles or at least akin to them. The order which Kirby established has been variously placed, sometimes next beetles, then next two-winged flies, and even among dragon flies and neuroptera. There are still doubts as to the true affinities. The course of metamorphosis which the young Strepsiptera have developed is more complicated than in any other order. The parasitic habits

which they have contracted are in several respects unique. Their nervous system is highly developed.

The sexes when adult are utterly unlike one another not only in appearance but also in habits. The adult male is an active little winged insect, never more than a quarter of an inch long; it spends a short life flying in the sunshine with a great display of energy. The adult female is a degraded grub-like creature which remains for life inside the body of the bee, wasp, or other insect which acts as host. As a female she performs her duties to perfection; and the student of parasitism, but for the fear of being thought cynical, might point to her in order to refute those who argue in favour of feminist activities.

By methods which will be described later, both sexes have as larvae burrowed into larval hosts. Parasite and host develop together through larval stages. Male pupa and adult female Strepsipteron are much alike, and both protrude tips of their bodies between the abdominal segments of the wretched bee's body. The male protrudes the cap of the pupa case ready when the appropriate moment comes to push it off and emerge. The empty case remains inside the abdomen of the host, where it forms a hollow cavity communicating with the open air.

The female parasite protrudes a hard yellow chitinous portion known as the cephalo-thorax. It is formed by the fusion of those two parts of the body in a manner not otherwise known in the insect world. It was for some while a matter of doubt whether the head or tail of the female Strepsipteron was seen; but dissections which show the position of the brain ganglion make it certain that it is the head end. Moreover the position of the ganglia and the ventral nerve cord show that it is the ventral surface of the cephalo-thorax which is seen emerging from the bee. Behind the cephalo-thorax and buried in the abdomen of the bee is a white, soft, and segmented portion which is the abdomen of the parasite. It occupies a large proportion of the body cavity of the bee. The parasite thus lies belly uppermost, with the head end projecting between the dorsal joints of the abdominal segments of the bee. On the ventral surface of the visible part of the parasite are certain tubercles. One is placed immediately behind a small orifice which represents what was once a mouth. On either side of the mouth are a pair of tubercles which represent mandibles

now atrophied. Close behind at the junction of abdomen and thorax is a curved slit which is the opening of the brood passage by which the larvae ultimately make their escape into the world.

The eggs develop in the body of the female and hatch there. When mature she consists merely of a sack containing eggs and subsequently larvae. All other organs have become reduced to vestiges. The slit mentioned above communicates at maturity with a passage running all along the ventral side of the body. The fully developed larvae pass from the body cavity of the parent through five peculiar trumpet shaped passages which lead from the body cavity into the brood passage. These five corridors acquire openings into the parent's body cavity at the moment when the larvae are ripe to escape. They swarm out through the slit and crawl over the host; the female having done her life's work, is reduced to an empty lifeless bag. Such is her fertility that one individual is estimated to produce from 2000 up to 7000 young. The wastage of infant life, as in many parasites, must be enormous.

The small larva remains upon the body of the host until it is brushed off or gets an opportunity of slipping off into a nest or a flower. If into a flower, it must wait until some host of the desired species comes, upon whose back it can secure a lift into the nest. Once safely landed in the requisite nest, it hunts about until a larval host is found, into which it quickly burrows. Here, inside the host, parasitic life rapidly produces changes. The legs are lost; the eyes disappear; the segments of the head and thorax fuse, producing a grub-like animal. After two moults the male and female larvae which are to end their lives so differently are already different in appearance. The male becomes cylindrical and shows a patch of eyes which will subsequently become efficient. His front portion hardens and is pushed outwards, resembling the pupa case of a dipterous insect with a small cap at the tip of the cylinder. Within the outer skin a real pupa, not unlike that of a hymenopterous insect, forms. Then another pupa forms within this. Finally, the adult male insect develops inside the three skins, and emerges by casting the cap from each skin.

The female on the other hand has assumed the grub-like form which she retains. She retains also unshed the pupal skin; she neither emerges from the host nor sheds her last skin.

In fact the brood passage by which the young make their way out is formed between the body of the female and her uncast pupal skin. She has lost every instinct but that which impels her to force the chitinised tip of her cephalo-thorax out through the abdomen of the host.

The name *Stylops* is commonly applied to all parasites of this group, and collectors of bees and wasps are well acquainted with individuals said to be *styloped*. A small disk or plate is seen emerging between the abdominal segments of the bee or wasp, and if the protruded portion be flat, the parasite is an adult female; if it be the rounded end of a cylinder, the parasite is a male which will emerge if the host can be kept alive.

Provision is made for the supply of oxygen to the embedded female parasite by a tracheal system which opens to the air by two spiracles or breathing orifices. There is a pair of main tracheal trunks which open prominently on each side of the cephalo-thorax. These two tubes go right through the body and ramify into a network which supplies the eggs with the oxygen necessary for development. The parasite is thus supplied with air and the needful oxygen independently of the host. An alternative arrangement may be seen in the Crustacean parasite *Sacculina* which sends its roots into the abdomen of a crab. In that case the roots of the parasite obtain their oxygen from the blood of the host. The parasitic Strepsipteron takes nothing from its host but liquid nourishment.

The adult male Strepsipteron is a peculiar looking insect. He has a pair of large milk-white wings shaped like the quarter of a circle and folding up like a fan. German entomologists know the group as *Fächerflügler*. In front of the wings are a pair of paddle-shaped balancers. They are of course the anterior pair of wings modified, and corresponding to the elytra or wing-covers of beetles, but are too small to serve as covers for the wings. When the insects fly, which they do, incessantly flashing to and fro, these balancers vibrate in unison with the wings and produce a loud humming. The male insect is hammer-headed with prominent eyes on stalks. The eyes are composed of a numerous collection of hexagonal facets divided by hairy partitions, and have been likened to raspberries. The mouth parts are rudimentary and apparently useless. The antennae are branched and have delicate sense organs.

The adult male, whose vitality is amazing while it lasts, seldom lives more than five or six hours. His sole purpose is to pair with the grub-like female. When in the presence of a styloped bee or wasp carrying a female of his own species he displays much amorous excitement. Various entomological writers have doubted, owing to the structure and position of the female, whether pairing was possible. It was suggested that the males were useless and that the development of the eggs was always parthenogenetic; but conclusive evidence has now been obtained that the sexes pair.*

The purpose of the constant buzzing sound which the male keeps up during his short, active life is unexplained. The activity of the antennae and the independent movement of their branches indicate that they perform some important duty in the life of the insects; possibly they serve to detect the presence of the host insect by its sound, or the female parasite by her smell. The maxillary palpi may have some use, and the mandibles, which are in constant movement, are probably not useless. The nervous and sensitive condition of the male is shown by violent combing of the antennae, mouth-parts, elytra, and body. When on the wing the males often fly out of the collector's reach, but numbers may sometimes be netted at one stroke over gorse-bushes frequented by *Andrena* bees. The nervous system in the adult male has been minutely worked out in two species by Nicholas Nasonow, a Russian entomologist, and it compares well with highly developed insects of other orders. It is noteworthy that in spite of her general degradation the nervous system of the female has not degenerated.

The remarkable mandibles of certain male Strepsiptera may ultimately be proved to be used by their owners for clinging on to the host when seeking the female during the pairing season. In general these appendages are less remarkable in parasites that attack leaf-hoppers than in those which attack bees and wasps. In some of the former they are simple and very small in size.

* The pairing of Stylops and assembling of the males observed by Dr. R. C. L. Perkins. *Proc. Ent. Soc. London* for 1918, p. lxx. Fertilisation takes place through the brood-opening and not the oesophagus of the female, as some writers have fantastically suspected.

Since mandibles are present these insects may presumably be classed with the Mandibulates. Labrum and labium which answer to upper and lower lips are absent. The maxillae are reduced and it has been suggested that they may serve as sensory appendages. The aperture of the mouth is unprotected by any of the usual coverings. But the mandibles are used by the young free larva to make a way into the body of the host, and by the full grown parasitic larva to cut an orifice through the integument of the host's abdomen.

So far as is known the larval Strepsipteron having once become parasitic, takes no food through its mouth. By what is known as *osmosis*, it absorbs nourishment from the juices of the host through its skin. The internal organs of the host are apparently not injured except by exhaustion of the juices and pressure caused by the parasite's presence. This absorption of food through the skin instead of through the mouth is found in tape-worms and some other parasites. In the adult female the gut is completely atrophied and apparently useless; she seems to be both incapable of taking food into the alimentary canal and also of digesting it.

Hypermetamorphosis, which means that the insect passes through more than the three normal stages, is found in some non-parasitic insects, and its relation to parasitism, if any, is obscure. There are various types of hypermetamorphosis among parasitic insects, but the Strepsiptera have the most complex life history of any. There is complete metamorphosis through the stages of larva, pupa, and imago; but the larva and the pupa each pass through several distinct phases, each form being of different aspect from the last. Parasitic habits prevail throughout life except at two periods: the free stages are the six-footed triungulinids, or young larvae, and the adult winged males. Metamorphosis in reality begins with the egg. Then comes the production of non-parasitic young of both sexes. They reach, by various means, the larvae of their hosts. When parasitic life has begun, the active larval Strepsipteron distends and becomes a passive grub. Succeeding moults make the females more and more degraded, while the males, as they transform, become highly specialised. Hypermetamorphosis in the present case goes with the production of living larvae instead of eggs. Egg-laying is impossible, since the female parasite is

fixed to the host and the eggs cannot develop as they should unless the larva which hatches from them can reach a larval host within a limited period. Larviporous reproduction occurs in Diptera and Homoptera as well as Strepsiptera.

Whether it be true to say that hypermetamorphosis rehearses the stages of evolution is rather doubtful. The six-footed larva resembles in appearance *Campodea*, one of the most primitive of adult insects. Then follow successive stages representing various types of larvae. These are succeeded by an internally formed pupa which remains enclosed in its larval skin. The ultimate product is a highly organised winged male in one sex and a degraded bag of eggs in the other. The parasitic female performs her duty in securing the continuance of the species. The successive stages which result in the free living male seem to carry the individual animal through the evolutionary stages that have been passed through in the production of specialised insects. Hypermetamorphosis occurs in Coleoptera, Hymenoptera, and Neuroptera, as well as Strepsiptera.

During the nineteenth century a number of entomologists devoted much care and attention to the study of Strepsiptera. Von Siebold, Newport, Saunders, Pérez, Nasonow, Brues, and Perkins have added to our knowledge. The most complete account of the group is the work of W. Dwight Pierce, an American. He divides the order Strepsiptera into 8 families, 37 genera, and about 100 species. He inclines to the view that each species of host has its own species of parasite, and consequently tends to multiply species. But he confesses that his classification will need many revisions.

Strepsiptera are said to have been found as parasites of insects belonging to four other orders: Hymenoptera, Homoptera, Heteroptera, and Orthoptera. In these four orders there are, according to Pierce, 50 genera and 238 species which are attacked by the parasites.

Among the hymenopterous hosts, wasps and wild bees are by far the most numerous. The honey-bee is not attacked. Stylopedised ants of undetermined species have been recorded from Ceylon. The homopterous hosts are leaf-hoppers and other small insects (allied to cicads), which suck the juices of plants. As they are destructive to sugar-cane plantations, their parasites and other enemies have been closely studied

in order to keep these pests in check. Homoptera with parasites have been found in Europe, Asia, America, and Australia. For several years endeavours were made to introduce Australian, American, and Fijian Strepsiptera (belonging to the family *Elenchidae*) into Hawaii as parasites of the injurious cane leaf-hoppers. Parasitised Homoptera were collected in large numbers and shipped in cages with a mesh fine enough to prevent the leaf-hoppers from escaping. The mesh, however, was of a size to let the larval parasites through if they wanted to attack other hosts. The work has met with no success, and seems doomed to fail because the Hawaiian leaf-hoppers belong to distinct genera or species and the parasites will not change hosts. The only recorded heteropterous host is an Asiatic bug of the family *Pentatomidae*. The claim to include Orthoptera among the hosts rests upon a single report that certain East African mole-cricket are styloped. When collectors have busied themselves in the tropics there can be no doubt that many new hosts possibly belonging to other orders will be discovered.

The Strepsiptera are a parasitic order with world-wide distribution. They have been collected in all six great geographical regions, and in all sub-regions except New Zealand, West Central Africa, and Madagascar. Since they have reached the Sandwich Islands and Fiji there can be no doubt as to their power to cross the sea. The fact that more species have been described from the Palearctic region and North America than from the tropics, points merely to the industry of collectors there. The tropical fauna should be rich in new forms.

The best known Strepsiptera are those which are parasites of bees of the genus *Andrena* and wasps of the species *Polistes* in Europe. The hosts may be solitary or may live in communities. It would seem that the larger number of parasitised hosts are females; but there are more male than female parasites. Both sexes of parasites are often found together in the same host. From one to three parasites are common, but a host will nourish as many parasites as can find room. Hosts are often heavily styloped, and suffer loss of vitality in consequence. Thirty-one larval parasites have been found in a host, and the largest number of male pupae found exerted from the body of a host is fifteen.

A styloped female suffers from atrophy of the ovaries and becomes completely sterile. The styloped male does not suffer in corresponding fashion. By far the strangest effect is seen in certain *Andrena* bees where the female has a black clypeus or front of the face, but the male has a yellow one. Stylopisation may lead to the female bee assuming a yellow clypeus as in the male, while the male may lose the yellow and acquire a partially black clypeus. This acquisition of the yellow clypeus by the female is the only change which can be undoubtedly set down as a positive acquisition of a secondary sexual character proper to the male sex. A similar change has been observed in birds, where hens that are past the age for egg-laying assume cocks' plumage.

Less is known of the Strepsiptera which are parasitic on leaf-hoppers than of those which attack hymenopterous hosts. They are, in the first place, much smaller and more difficult to examine. It would seem that the effects of stylopisation in leaf-hoppers are much the same as in bees. The male parasite seems to injure the leaf-hopper more than the female, and causes generally considerable distortion of the body. Parasitised leaf-hoppers of both sexes will pair, but whether they produce offspring is doubtful. Death usually follows on the emergence of a male parasite: this is attributed to the larger size of the puparium, which is also more chitinised and horny on the hidden segments. Secondly, when the cap is forced off the puparium, light and air are admitted to the viscera of the host. The male also being more highly developed than the female, possibly draws more heavily on the nutriment of the host. Again, at certain seasons no sooner does the male parasite emerge than a fungous disease, with deadly results, attacks the opening in the host.

The knowledge gained by studying the Strepsiptera confirms certain generalisations which are true of parasites generally. Parasitism is an acquired mode of life which needs adaptations. Hence the parasite becomes specialised for a certain life. This leads as a rule to a reduction of parts and so to simplification of structure. Hence the animal, though specialised for a single form of life, may be generalised as regards form of structure. This is known as generalisation by reversion, and it does not indicate primitiveness. The parasite is descended from a line of more complicated ancestors.

In the course of specialisation, or adaptation to a parasitic life, certain organs become useless. They are changed and serve to perform new functions, or they may become atrophied or even entirely lost. Other organs have heavier duties to perform or assume entirely new duties. Thus selection and modification, induced by changed functions, produce organs quite different from the typical ancestral organs. The first change in the Strepsiptera is the loss of legs and loss of eyes by the larva shortly after it has entered the larval host. These two organs are ultimately recovered by the male but not by the female insect. This loss and ultimate recovery by one sex but not by the other is noteworthy. Another change in the male is the reduction of the front wings to clubs or balancers and their use for sound-making. There is also total loss of both pairs of wings in the female. Yet another set of changes is seen in the female, where a permanently stationary position has led to the loss of legs and all appendages of the mouth except the mandibles. These are used not for feeding but for pushing out the cephalo-thorax. The female cephalo-thorax has become reduced to a flat disk, which can be extruded without raising the abdominal plates of the host. The advantages are twofold: the interior of the host is not exposed to injury by drying up; and the parasite, being pressed closely against the body of the host, is also less exposed to danger from without.

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THE ORIGINS OF MEXICAN MYTHOLOGY

1. *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen sprache und Alterthums-kunde.* Von Professor SELER. Berlin. 1902-16.
2. *Mannel d'Archéologie Américaine.* Par H. BEUCHAT. Paris. 1912.
3. *Codex Borgia, eine altemexikanische bilderschrift.* Von Professor SELER. Berlin. 1904.
4. *Der Codex Vaticanus B.* Von Professor SELER. Berlin. 1902. Trans. by A. H. Keane. Berlin and London. 1902-03.
5. *Der Codex Fejervary-Mayer.* Von Professor SELER. Berlin. 1901. Trans. by A. H. Keane. Berlin and London. 1902-03.
6. *Mexican Archaeology.* By T. ATHOL JOYCE. 1914.

ALTHOUGH political and financial conditions in Mexico frequently arouse a passing agitation in the minds of British people, the antiquities of that extraordinary land, various as Greece and mysterious as Egypt, have failed to appeal to them with the same degree of interest. We have not yet perhaps quite recovered from the amazement with which in our own day we have seen the secret gates of the East unlocked and the prodigies of Mesopotamia and the endless dynasties of the Nile emerge therefrom. Yet an archaeology, less venerable but no less notable, pleads with us for recognition from a continent so closely associated with the spirit of modernity that we can scarcely believe in its ability to present us with the credentials of respectable antiquity. American scientists, however, have in recent years successfully addressed themselves to the problems of Isthmian research, and the antiquaries of Germany and France have, in certain respects, even improved upon their endeavours. Great Britain alone remains insensible to the lure of old Mexico, and small indeed is the band of workers that she has given to this department of archaeology.

No manifestation of the life and thought of ancient Mexico so well deserves the attention of British students of antiquity as its picturesque if bizarre religion. Our position in folklore is pre-eminent; indeed we may with justice claim the reconstruction of traditional science as due to the efforts of British scholar-

ship. As the English word 'folklore' is in world-wide use, so is the terminology of the science it denotes replete with English expressions; yet in English works which deal with traditional lore, the Mexican analogies employed are almost invariably quoted at second hand, sources of the most unsatisfactory description are drawn upon to illustrate Mexican belief, and it is obvious that the few modern treatises which have sought to explain this most involved of all mythologies are not sufficiently taken advantage of by authorities on folklore.

To those who possess even an elementary acquaintance with the study of Mexican religion this will cause no surprise, for the initial difficulties which confront even the experienced antiquary who desires to gain a working knowledge of its principles are sufficiently discouraging. In all likelihood the quest is sooner or later abandoned in despair of acquiring that fundamental information from which it is possible to proceed to a more profound knowledge of the subject. The native languages, familiarity with which is desirable, are complex and difficult of mastery. The paintings or codices which depict the gods present a riot of symbolic intricacy sufficient in itself to damp enthusiasm. Many years must be spent in the study of a system of symbolic painting, to which a specially qualified section of the Mexican priesthood dedicated itself in the full knowledge of a mythological scheme at the nature of which we can but guess. It is, above all, necessary to become thoroughly conversant with an overwhelming body of Spanish Colonial literature, which must be handled with the greatest discretion, owing to its vague, contradictory, and essentially untrustworthy character. Lastly, an acquaintance with manuscript sources, obscure and difficult to obtain, is quite as indispensable, and these indeed are among the most valuable of the adjuncts to a knowledge of Mexican belief.

By far the most eminent and successful among modern writers on Mexican mythology and ritual is Professor Eduard Seler, of Berlin, who, owing to the generosity of the Duc de Loubat, has been enabled to publish monographs upon the principal Mexican hieroglyphical paintings or codices. In these he has done much for the elucidation of the involved symbolism in which the native MSS. abound, and has greatly added to our knowledge of the divine forms represented in

their grotesque pages. Elaborate photogravure reproductions of these, the papyri of Mexico, have also been published, superseding the older and less accurate copies in the great collection of Lord Kingsborough. In his 'Gesammelte Abhandlungen,' too, a work quite encyclopaedic as regards its scope and aim, Professor Seler has approached almost every problem presented by Mexican archaeology. But his work might have been of greater value had he been mindful of the difficulties which the subject presents to the non-specialist reader. Indeed, the technicality and aridity of his general method render his output acceptable to few but the 'senior wranglers' of the study.

American students of ancient Mexico and Central America have almost entirely confined themselves to the examination of sites and monuments. In France, M. Beuchat has provided students with an admirable handbook in his 'Archéologie 'Américaine,' which, if too general in its purport and marred by a lack of linguistic knowledge, is still valuable as an elementary manual to American antiquity. The essays of Lehmann, De Jonghe, and Preuss have provided the student with translations of manuscript material hitherto closed to him, or have smoothed his way to a clearer comprehension of the difficulties connected with the Mexican calendar. The best modern English handbook on Mexican archaeology is that by Mr. T. Athol Joyce, of the British Museum; but its lack of references is a serious drawback, and it suffers from compression.

Among Americanists, it is usual to regard the entire tract occupied by Central American civilisation, which extended from the Tropic of Cancer to Nicaragua, as one and indivisible in its manifestations. But it is now clear that the type of advancement peculiar to the more northerly portion inhabited by the Nahua (Aztec and Chichimec) peoples of Mexico proper presents numerous and striking divergences from the more southerly though related Maya civilisation of Yucatan and Guatemala. Regarding the priority of these two cultures no doubt exists. The Maya was greatly the more ancient. But during the century preceding the conquest of Mexico by Cortez, it had been subjected to Nahua immigration and influences, especially as regards its religious beliefs. It is therefore necessary to exercise caution in the identification of

Nahua or Mexican with Maya myths and divine forms, and with this in view, I have directed my researches more especially to an examination of the deities and ritual practices of the Mexican area, in the hope that once the fundamental beliefs of this better known region have been ascertained, the results arrived at may be applied with some measure of confidence to the obscure field of Maya belief. It seemed to me also essential, if progress were to be made, to apply a more intensive method of investigation than has hitherto been deemed profitable or desirable to the first origins of the Mexican gods, and it is especially with the results obtained by this means that I am here concerned, rather than with the conclusions of others, or a review of the whole field of Mexican religion as presently understood.

The first Nahua immigrants seem to have entered the Valley of Mexico during the eighth century of our era. They came in all probability from the north, and their art forms as well as their physical peculiarities and mythology seem to indicate a common origin with the Indian tribes who formerly inhabited British Columbia. The Aztecâ, a later swarm of Nahua, do not appear to have made their way into the more southerly parts of the country until the middle of the thirteenth century, or to have founded the settlement of Mexico-Tenochtitlan until the year 1376. At the period of their arrival in the valley they were a barbarous tribe of nomadic hunters, wandering from place to place in search of fresh hunting grounds, but by virtue of their superior prowess in war they succeeded in gaining the hegemony of the district surrounding Lake Tezcuco, which undoubtedly possessed a civilisation at least five hundred years old. This civilisation they assimilated so speedily and thoroughly that within the century and a quarter which intervened between the founding of Mexico and the Spanish Conquest, they had arrived at a standard of advancement which aroused no little surprise in the minds of their Castilian conquerors. With their entry into the lake district of Mexico such a change appears to have overtaken their religious beliefs as invariably occurs when a people who live by the chase adopt the settled life of agriculturists; such, for example, as altered the beliefs and customs of the Semitic conquerors of the settled Sumerian population of Mesopotamia.

Many of the old deities of the hunt had perforce to assume the complexion of gods of vegetation or remain in a secondary position, and good evidence exists that a priesthood conscious of altered conditions assisted the change by the careful adaptation of existing myths to the agricultural traditions of the settled population among which they found themselves.

Among the gods of Mexico, Uitzilopochtli, Tezcatlipocâ, and Quetzalcoatl* have perhaps the best right to be described as 'national.' The first was indeed the original tribal deity of the Aztecâ, their Jahveh, who led them southward from their early home to the plateau of Anahuac, and who, if he did not altogether preserve his pre-eminence, never ceased to hold high place in the Mexican pantheon. The cult of Tezcatlipocâ was probably quite as ancient, and by reason of qualities which made a strong appeal to a priesthood with a tendency to theological speculation, he ultimately gained a position which carried him far on the road to monotheistic honours. Similar attributes gave Quetzalcoatl a high place in priestly esteem, just as the wide dissemination and popularity of the myths concerning him exalted him to a natural eminence which perhaps he did not originally possess.

Uitzilopochtli, the great tribal patron deity of the Aztecâ of Mexico-Tenochtitlan, was described in tradition as leading them from the mythical northern country of Aztlan in the form of 'a little bird.' He is usually represented in the pictorial MSS., where his appearance is infrequent, as wearing a mantle made from humming-birds' feathers, and his face is painted in blue and yellow horizontal stripes.

Later legend spoke of him as the vindicator of his mother, a goddess of vegetation, and as slaying her detractors, his own half-brothers, while in historical times the whole business of war was arranged through the instrumentality of his oracular image, and was carried out chiefly in view of the necessity for human sacrifice which characterised his special cult. But if we examine the roots of the beliefs which cluster around him, we shall find much to convince us that he was, after the entrance of his people into the Valley of Anahuac, identified with the maguëy plant, which forms so familiar an object in the Mexican landscape.

* Pronounced Weet'zil-opotch'tlee, Tezcat'ly-pocâ, Quet'zal-koat'ly.

The name Uitzilopochtli is usually translated 'Humming-bird-to-the-left,' or 'Humming-bird-of-the-south,' but I believe an entirely different etymology will assist us to comprehend his character more clearly. A certain variety of the maguey plant (*agave Americana*) was known to the Aztecs as 'beak of the 'humming-bird,' probably because of the resemblance its long, spiky thorns (*Uitzli*) bear to the sharp bill of this graceful little creature, which suspends its web-like nest from the thorny leaves of the agave. A seventeenth century MS. by a native writer* supplies us with the information that another of the titles by which the god was known was *Magueycoatl*, 'Snake of the Maguey,' while a third and more popular name for him was *Mexitli*, or 'Hare of the Maguey,' from which one of the districts, and later the entire city of Mexico, took its appellation. The god is also known as *Uitznauatl*, or 'Thorn that Speaks Oracularly,' and the maguey plant is found as an element in more than one of the hieroglyphics which pictorially represent his name.

The nature of the rites of certain of the seasonal honours paid to Uitzilopochtli assist the theory that he originally represented the maguey plant from which the ancient Mexicans brewed the *octli* liquor quaffed by their warriors before going into battle, and which, in its modern form of *pulque*, has probably not a little to do with the national tendency to frequent revolution. Friar Sahagun, one of the most erudite and trustworthy of the early colonial authorities on native customs, states in his great work, 'Historia de Nueva España,' that the proprietors of the maguey plantations and those who sold the *octli* liquor cut their plants at the time of the movable festival of the god, in the hope that if they were tapped at a season so auspicious, the yield would prove both superior and abundant, and this, the first brew of the year, was proffered to the deity forthwith.

With these facts in view, it may not seem rash to challenge the hitherto accepted rendering of Uitzilopochtli's name. The word *opochtli*, while it certainly means both 'left' and 'south,' as numerous authorities state, also signifies 'wizard' as, says Torquemada, another monkish writer, 'many folks believe'; for the word 'left' in Mexican, as in Latin, has the implication of 'sinister,' 'inauspicious,' 'malign,' 'uncanny,' and undoubtedly

* "Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas," c. 1.

refers in this sense to the magical or supernatural. Sahagun alludes to Uitzilopochtli as a necromancer and shape-shifter—a wizard. The oracular power too with which he was credited both in myth and ritual practice, was evidently connected with the highly intoxicating qualities of the juice of the plant he represented, and indeed there is good evidence that it was used by his ministers as a source of oracular inspiration.

For these reasons I believe the name Uitzilopochtli possessed for the Mexicans of the historical period the significance of 'Humming-bird-Wizard.' The fact that the humming-bird nests in the maguey plant and appears to issue therefrom, in all likelihood gave rise to the belief that it was the spirit of the plant. But it is not improbable that a certain amount of etymological confusion, such as is familiar to students of mythology, arose between the words *uitzilinin*, 'a humming-bird,' and *uitzli*, 'thorn,' and that in earlier times the name may have meant 'Thorny Wizard,' or 'Maguey Fetish.' References too are not wanting to *octli* or *pulque* as *Uitzoctli*, the thorny (or prickly) liquor—the drink that leaves its sting behind. From what has gone before, we may perhaps be justified in seeing in the close connexion of plant, drink, and oracular priest or medicine man an association such as existed between the several manifestations of the oak-cult of Zeus, or between the elements to be remarked in the vine-cult of Dionysius. In Hindu myth, too, a bird-god (Garuda) is closely associated with the sacred soma drink, in such a manner as to invite analogies between his myth and that of Uitzilopochtli.

These primary characteristics notwithstanding, Uitzilopochtli in later times came to have a very different significance for the Aztecâ—a significance essential to the continued popularity of his cult. Thus we find him at the period of the Spanish Conquest in the possession of solar attributes and holding a position in the Mexican pantheon which, if not the most important, had still the greatest local prestige in the city of Mexico-Tenochtitlan, of which he was the tutelary god. How, then, can we reconcile the primitive fetish of the maguey plant with the later solar deity?

The connexion is accounted for by the fact that the sun was regarded by the peoples of Anahuac or the Valley of Mexico

as the great eater of hearts and drinker of blood. These must be obtained for him by the capture of victims in war, or, it was believed, he would perish for lack of sustenance and all creation would expire with him. Uitzilopochtli as the spirit of the maguey plant was the tribal fetish of the Aztecâ, their eponymous chief, and therefore their natural leader in battle. His tribal leadership in war, a governance to which Mexican myth and history bear eloquent testimony, came to be associated with the idea that through his agency was obtained the necessary supply of sacrificial victims, the shedding of whose blood kept the sun alive. The god thus came to be regarded as one with the sun, and as is frequently the case in myth, deity and heavenly body became fused in the popular imagination.

As the sun is the great central source of all agricultural success, so Uitzilopochtli also came to be thought of as one of the promoters of plant growth, as is witnessed by his festivals, which synchronise with the first rainfall of the year, the growth of plant life, and the end of the fruitful season. He is thus the sun of the season of plenty, as his 'brother' Tezcatlipocâ represents that of serenity and drought. An analogy may here be drawn from Egyptian mythology, in which Osiris, when referred to as god of the Nile, is regarded as the fertiliser, and Set, his brother, as the spirit of the barren desert.

Quite as humble are the beginnings of the god Tezcatlipocâ, perhaps the most universally dreaded among the Mexican deities. Regarding his precise attributes nothing very definite has been arrived at by modern authorities. In my opinion the early significance of Tezcatlipocâ arises out of his connexion with obsidian. This stone had an especial sanctity for the Mexicans, as it provided the sacrificial knives used by the priests. Tezcatlipocâ's idol was of obsidian, and in certain of the codices he is depicted as wearing sandals of the same stone. I believe too that the net-like garment worn at times by this god is an adaptation of the mesh-bag in which the Mexican hunters carried their arrow heads, for Tezcatlipocâ, in his rôle as the god of obsidian, was very naturally the provider of the hunter's weapons.

But another and equally important link connects Tezcatlipocâ with the obsidian stone. From its matrix mirrors were manufactured, chiefly for use as scrying-stones by the *naualli* or

wizards. Sahagun states that one variety of this stone was known to the Mexicans as *tepochtli*, which I would translate 'wizard stone,' or 'fetish stone,' and from which, I think, by a process of etymological confusion, the god received one of his minor names, *Telpochtli*, 'the youth.' The name Tezcatlipocâ means 'Smoking mirror,' and Acosta states that the Mexicans called the large obsidian mirror with which he was always represented 'his glass to look in,' otherwise the scrying or divinatory stone in which he was able to witness the doings of mankind. It is possible that the 'smoke' which was said to rise from this mirror symbolised the haziness which is supposed to cloud the surface of a divinatory glass prior to the phenomenon of vision therein. For some such reason, then, Tezcatlipocâ came to be regarded as the great divinatory god of Mexico. We find him also connected with the wind, and this leads to the conclusion that in the course of his development he came to be regarded as one of that class of magical stones which in some mysterious manner are considered capable of raising a tempest under the spell of the sorcerer. This notion gains added probability from the circumstance that Tezcatlipocâ is none other than the original 'hurricane,' for he has been identified with Hurakan, a god of the Quiche Indians of Guatemala, from whose name the meteorological expression 'hurricane,' in use among us, has been borrowed through the agency of the old Spanish navigators.

Many aspects of Tezcatlipocâ are eloquent of his boreal attributes. Thus he is invisible and capricious, the object of mistrust among the people, who saw in tempestuous weather a manifestation of his freakish bad temper. He was also known as *Yoalli eecatl*, or 'the Wind of Night,' and in this guise he ravined through the empty streets, threatening and terrifying the belated traveller.

In the Aztec mind, stone was symbolic of the atonement of sin. Thus Tezcatlipocâ is the just avenger who punishes evil swiftly and terribly, for obsidian in the form of the sacrificial knife was the instrument of justice. The coldness of stone, its hardness and dryness, seem also to have given rise to the conception of him as a god of the Toxcatl festival in the fifth month of the year, the dry season, when the sun stood at the zenith above Tenochtitlan. Thus, as the prayers to him

eloquently affirm, he was the god of drought, of sereness, and barrenness. The origin of the conceptions of him as the sun of the north and as the setting sun seem reasonably clear, as in the case of Uitzilopochtli; however, these are of secondary character. As the Mexican sun sinks in the west, its brilliant gold turns to a glassy red, reminiscent of the dull reflex of light on a surface of polished obsidian. The mirror held by Tezcatlipocâ, with its fringe of brightly coloured plumes, obviously represents the sun of evening. But he is also to be thought of as the torrid and blazing orb of the dry season, and as a scorching and merciless deity.

Tezcatlipocâ possessed more exalted characteristics as 'the breath of life,' and in these we may perhaps see an extension of his boreal significance. At the period of the Spanish Conquest his cult was so predominant in Mexico as to justify the assumption that in time it might at length have become monotheistic, overshadowing all others, as did the worship of Jahveh in Palestine.

Concerning the nature and origin of the mysterious god Quetzalcoatl, there has been much conflict of opinion. He has been identified as an apostle of well-nigh every one of the civilisations of antiquity. I do not intend to enter the arena of controversy regarding his significance, but to deal with the question in a severely practical manner and in the light of evidence rather than of theory. The Mexican myths concerning Quetzalcoatl as related by Sahagun, give us to understand that he was a King of the Toltecs, who are usually referred to in Nahua tradition as the great civilising race of prehistoric times, having their capital at Tollan, almost on the southern border of the present State of Hidalgo. Quetzalcoatl was a patron of the arts, mechanical and agricultural. He had wealth in abundance and provision in plenty, and in his time maize was so large in the head that a man might not carry more than one stalk in his clasped arms. Pumpkins were in circumference as great as a man is high, and the stalks of the wild amaranth grew like trees. Cotton grew in all colours—red, scarlet, yellow, violet, white, green, blue, black, grey, orange, and tawny. In the city of Tollan, where Quetzalcoatl dwelt, were many birds of rich plumage and sweet song. The servants of Quetzalcoatl were wealthy and

had abundance of all things, and food was plentiful with them. Their master did penance by drawing blood from his ears, tongue, and thighs with the spines of the maguey, and by washing at midnight in a fountain. But 'sorcerers' came against Quetzalcoatl and his people the Toltecs, and from the fact that these were the Nahua gods—Tezcatlipocâ, Uitzilopochtli, and Tlacauepan—we may perhaps be justified in the belief that we have here to deal with a myth which enshrines the memory of some racial conflict.

Quetzalcoatl fell sick and received a magical draught from Tezcatlipocâ, which brought about an irresistible longing to leave Mexico and to return to the mythical region of Tlapallan, in the East, whence it was thought he had come originally. He was assured by Tezcatlipocâ that he would return from thence rejuvenated, 'as a youth, yea, as a boy.' After a long and disastrous journey eastwards, he came at last to the Atlantic, where he gave orders that a raft of serpents should be constructed for him, and on this he put out to sea and sailed away in the direction of the land of Tlapallan. Stress is laid on the pacific nature of his character and reign, and he is described as forbidding war, disturbance, and human sacrifice.

Another form of the Quetzalcoatl myth as given by Mendieta, is in substance as follows: Tezcatlipocâ let himself down from the upper regions by means of a spider's web and, coming to Tollan, engaged in a game of *tlachtli* (the native ball game) with Quetzalcoatl. Suddenly, while the game was in full swing, Tezcatlipocâ transformed himself into a tiger. The Toltecs who beheld this metamorphosis were panic stricken, and cast themselves pell-mell into a ravine, perishing miserably in a deep and turbulent river which flowed therein. Tezcatlipocâ then chased Quetzalcoatl from place to place, driving him first to the sacred city of Cholula, and later on to his original home in Tlapallan, where he died, and where his followers burnt his body, thus inaugurating the custom of cremating the dead. Still another myth relates to his self-immolation on a funeral pyre on reaching the Atlantic coast and his consequent metamorphosis into the planet Venus. Maya legends, which refer to him as Kukulcan, Votan, or Gucumatz, present for the most part merely local differences.

Those myths concerning Quetzalcoatl which refer to him

as a human hero who enters the country as an alien and, his beneficent work performed, withdraws to the place whence he came under pressure of malignant opposition, are obviously of later origin and bear the marks of priestly 'editing.' Sahagun undoubtedly refers to a more archaic idea regarding the deity when he says that he 'sweeps the ways for the Tlaloque' or rain-gods, a conception of him which has the additional merit of having been acceptable to the Mexicans themselves.

I believe that the physical phenomena to be observed in connexion with the winds which prevail on the Mexican plateau provide by far the most simple and natural explanation of the myth of the god Quetzalcoatl. From April or May to the beginning of October the trade wind blows in a north-easterly direction from the coast over the Plateau of Anahuac, immediately preceding a bounteous rainfall, thus actually 'sweeping the 'ways for the rain-gods,' and assisting vegetable growth. At the end of that period however it is invariably modified by the local monsoon, which interrupts it over wide areas, and in certain districts invades it in violent cyclonic storms, dissipating its energies and altering its course seawards. Quetzalcoatl represents the gentle trade wind which ushers in the growth-making rains. His rule of peace, plenty, and fertility over, he comes into opposition with Tezcatlipocâ, who represents the monsoon, the hurricane, who chases his rival 'from place to 'place,' ravening at him like a tiger, and at last hustling him out of the country in the direction of Tlapallan, the East.

If this simple elucidation of the original myth be accepted, it will be seen how naturally later modifications arose out of it. But before we investigate the process by which these emerged from or were added to it, it becomes necessary to deal with that part of the legend which alludes to the advent of a civilising agency upon the Mexican plateau. This speaks of the advance of a body of men from the north, by way of the river Panuco, to the Plateau of Anahuac, and precisely in the path taken by the trade wind. But it is unlikely that the myth of Quetzalcoatl's civilising mission to Tollan has any historical basis. Regarding the reality of the culture known as Toltec there is now no difference of opinion. But admitting this, it is plain that the legends which certain writers have accepted as evidence for the actual existence of a priest-king called Quetzalcoatl are merely

euhemeristic. In his guise as the gentle north-easterly trade wind that ushers in the rains we have however every reason to see in Quetzalcoatl the allegorical founder of the Toltec civilisation. Such a culture as the Toltec must undoubtedly have owed its very existence to agricultural efficiency. Only through the storage of large quantities of grain can the *corvée* system arise and architectural endeavours of any magnitude be set on foot. The god, whose bountiful patronage of growth assisted the arts in this manner, seems in course of time to have been looked upon almost as the veritable human founder of the Toltec kingdom.* Legends of his civilising prowess clustered around his supposititious memory and, in later times, kings or rulers were called by his name—a lucky name of happy associations—and the illusion that he once actually existed was thereby heightened. These rulers seem to have flourished in Mexico ere yet the offices of king and priest had become separate, so that it is not surprising that Quetzalcoatl was regarded as having had a priestly association with his own cult, or that the Mexican pontiffs of historical times bore his name.

From this point of view, then, Quetzalcoatl was certainly the 'founder' of the Toltec civilisation, and if it be accepted, I do not see how his myth can be regarded as having any basis in actual fact. As recorded by Sahagun, it obviously had its origin in a much older legend, which referred to a season of plenteous rain—the season during which the gentle and beneficent god of the trade wind holds sway. In later days it came to have reference not only to a season, but also to the Toltec period, 'the good old time,' to which humanity in all ages and climes has looked back with eyes of wistfulness, when conditions were notoriously better and no mouth knew want. But such a concept was obviously secondary in character. The new myth has taken on a cultural rather than a seasonal complexion. The allegory which underlies this later myth is readily disentangled. The powers of the rain-making priest-god fail him; he becomes sick, and is beguiled and defeated by Tezcatlipocâ, the wind-god of a rival people, who tells him that 'another old man' awaits him in Tlapallan where he must undergo a process of rejuvenation.

* Sahagun reverses this process by calling Quetzalcoatl 'a man who became a god,' bk. i. c. v.

And here we seem to find a reference to the fountain of perpetual youth, the reservoir of rain and all refreshment, which Quetzalcoatl must visit if he would be cured of the ills of old age, and would renew his pluvial supplies.

The etymology of Quetzalcoatl's name is compounded of the elements *quetzalli* and *coatl*. The first denotes the bright green tail feathers of the quetzal bird, while *coatl* signifies 'snake,' so that the whole implies 'feathered snake.'

There is less dubiety concerning the character of Tlaloc, the rain-god proper, than that of any other Mexican deity. The representations of him in the manuscripts, the prayers offered up to him, the myths which seek to explain him, all make it clear that he is the god of rain *par excellence*, to whom even Quetzalcoatl, the deified rain-making priest in time became merely 'a sweeper of the ways.' The etymological derivation of his name has been frequently essayed. Tlaloc, says Seler, is a noun derived from the verb *tlaloo*, 'to hasten,' which in its reflexive sense means 'to shoot up,' 'to sprout,' so that the name really conveys the sense of 'He who makes things sprout,' 'He who hastens growth.' He is indeed the pluvial god of moisture, who dwells on the mountain peaks and manifests himself in the lightning and the thunder, both of which are symbolised in the serpentine folds of his countenance and its darksome hues. His progeny are the Tlaloque, who dwell in the courtyard of his mountain home, dwarfish ministers, who pour forth the rain out of the great jars ranged around its walls. 'When they beat these with the sticks they carry, 'it thunders, and when it lightens, a piece of the jug falls.'* Although mythical evidence is lacking on the point, it is obvious from the serpentine characteristics of Tlaloc, that he was developed from the conception of the 'Water Provider,' the great serpent or dragon which dwells among the hills and which must be defeated by a hero or demi-god before he disgorges the floods which ensure the growth of vegetation. That he came later to be regarded as a personification of the rain is plain from his aspect and insignia. His face paint is black and blue, or dirty yellow, like the threatening cloud which holds the thunder shower. The garments he wears are

* "Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas," c. 2.

splashed with *ullí*, rubber-gum, evidently intended to symbolise rain-spots. Indeed his robe is called the *anachxechilli*, or 'dripping garment,' and is frequently depicted as set with green gems, to represent the sparkling rain-drops. Few rain-gods, even the Vedic Indra himself, whom Tlaloc somewhat resembles, are so frankly symbolic of the moisture which falls from above.

Regarding the remaining members of the teeming Nahua pantheon, whom some of the old Spanish Colonial authors believe to have exceeded eleven hundred in number, brief mention must suffice. The gods and goddesses of the earth and growth are perhaps the most important. Tlazolteotl ('Goddess of Dirt'), a deity of Huastec origin, was the Mexican Venus Impudica. It is clear from the hymns once chanted in her honour that she is merely a personification of the maize plant, for she is alluded to as 'the yellow bloom' and 'the white bloom.' But she has also the characteristics of an earth goddess proper, and is spoken of as 'Heart of the Earth,' or 'Soul of the Earth.' In later times it was as a goddess of sensuality that she made her strongest appeal to the Mexican imagination. She was too the patroness of those women who died in childbed, and who, disappointed and revengeful, tormented the living in the shape of harpies or witches. In this guise she is the witch *par excellence*. Her son Cintecotl ('Maize God') represented the young maize. Chicomecoatl ('Seven Snake') was a prehistoric Toltec grain goddess, and was perhaps regarded as the foster-mother of the new-comer Tlazolteotl, presiding over the old grain which was used for seed, as did the younger goddess over the maize which had not yet come to fruition. Ciuacoatl ('Serpent Woman') had similar characteristics, and was probably a localised form of the same deity. Xilonen was a deification of the young, tender ear of the maize plant. Coatlicue ('Serpent Skirt') the mother of Uitzilopochtli, originally represented the earth in its dragon-like or primeval and animal form. Later she came to be thought of as the goddess of the sacred mountain of Coatepec. From it descended fertilising streams, and from it her child, in his form of the 'Sun of Morning,' arose in all the panoply of day. Xochiquetzal was the goddess of flowers, and had a mountainous significance. In historical times she was recognised as the patroness of amorous intercourse, song, dance, and frivolous

amusement, a figure closely resembling the Apsaras of Hindu myth. She also presided over the weaving of brightly coloured fabrics and the making of illuminated pictorial manuscripts. Xipe was an important deity of seed time and planting, and in a secondary sense the god of the warrior's death by combat and sacrifice, because of the very definite association of the food supply with the military service by which captives were procured for sacrifice to the gods who presided over growth.

The gods of sport, amusement, and chance—Xochipilli, Macuilxochitl, and Xolotl—also partook of the character of deities of growth. Mixcoatl ('Cloud Serpent') exhibits all the characteristics of a god of the chase who has become an agricultural deity without losing his original proclivities. The gods of the *octli* liquor were said to number four hundred, and prospective revellers appealed to them for the remission of the after effects of intoxication. Thus 'One Rabbit' was capable of averting a mere headache, while 'Four Hundred Rabbits' must be placated if delirium or suicide were to be escaped.

The several castes and professions adored especial patron gods of their own. Thus Opochtli, the mythical inventor of the fisherman's and fowler's net, was sacrificed to by the folk who employed these implements. Omacatl was the god of physicians, Yacatecutli of merchants and jewellers, for the reason that he represented the staff of the travelling packman. Xipe received the homage of the gold beaters of Tlatelolco, because of the resemblance of the skin of a sacrificed warrior in which he was habited to an overlay of gold. Xochipilli presided over dancers and court buffoons, and Tlazolteotl over courtesans. But the secondary character of most of the forms which indicated caste patronage is plain, and that they were the developments of circumstance and environment can scarcely be gainsaid. Other and quite as important deities have been omitted from this brief catalogue, which is much more representative than embrative. But all were more or less closely associated with the great central motive which animated religion in ancient Mexico, the basic necessity which underlay the whole existence of this imposing pantheon—the ever present need for rain in a climate where its absence means agricultural ruin and consequent famine.

The myths relating to the great tribal gods help us to gain

a definite impression of the character of early religious conceptions in Anahuac. The hymns to the gods are also a sure indication of the trend of popular faith, and probably retain more of the archaic spirit than the legends which, as we possess them, nearly all exhibit signs of late modification. Through the medium of these ancient chants, if faithfully and competently examined, we are able to arrive at the primal significance of Mexican religion, which first and last was nothing more than a vastly elaborated rain-cult, similar in its general tendency to that still prevalent among the Pueblo tribes of New Mexico and Arizona, yet broader in outlook, of a higher complexity, and productive of a theology and an ethical system of greater sophistication and scope. The religion of the Pueblo peoples is indeed the poor and degenerate descendant of the fantastic and picturesque ritual of the Aztecâ, or, more probably, both systems may be referred to a common origin. Through the researches of Fewkes, Cushing, Lummis, and others, the entire ritual of this modern pluvial cult is now well known and deserves the closest attention at the hands of students of Mexican religion, as providing them with comparative and analogical material of the first importance.

The fervent prayers to Tlaloc, god of water, are eloquent of the fact that a dry year in ancient Anahuac brought with it famine and misery unspeakable. Inexpressibly touching are the petitions to this deity that he would not visit his displeasure upon the people by closing the heavenly fountains which provided them with the means of sustenance. 'O our most 'compassionate lord . . . I beseech thee to look with eyes of 'pity upon the people of this city and kingdom, for the whole 'world, down to the very beasts, is in peril of destruction and 'disappearance and irremediable end . . . for the ridges of the 'earth suffer sore need and anguish for lack of water . . . with 'deep sighing and anguish of heart I cry upon all those that are 'gods of water, that are in the four quarters of the world . . . 'to come and console this poor people and to water the earth, 'for the eyes of all that inhabit the earth, animals as well as men, 'are turned towards you and their hope is set upon you.'

Deeply rooted in the Mexican mind was the belief that, unless the gods were abundantly refreshed with human blood, they would perish of hunger and old age and would be unable

to undertake their hypothetical labours in connexion with the growth of the crops. The notion undoubtedly had its rise in that process of barbarous reasoning by which Mexican man had convinced himself that the amount of rainfall would be in ratio to the amount of blood shed sacrificially. Professor Seler states that 'the one was intended to bring down the other, that 'the blood which was offered was intended to bring down the 'rain upon the fields.'* This, then, is the precise nature of the compact between Mexican man and his gods. '*Do ut des*'; 'Give me rain and I shall give you blood.' Once this is understood the radical significance of Mexican religion is arrived at, and all the latter additions of theology and priestly invention can be looked upon as mere excrescences and ornaments upon the simple architecture of the temple of the rain-cult.

The process by which the rain-cult became amalgamated with the worship of Quetzalcoatl and also added solar and planetary characteristics to its several deities, seems reasonably clear. Quetzalcoatl, the apostle of the 'civilised' religion which already obtained in Mexico, at the coming of the Nahua, was also regarded as the inventor of the *tonalamatl* or Book of Fate, which is sometimes confounded with the solar calendar, but which is in reality a development of an ancient lunar seasonal count. To the divisions of this time-count the names of the gods of growth and others seem to have been applied, so that they presided over the periods of drought or plenty as their characteristics permitted. The priests of the Quetzalcoatl religion seem to have thus identified the cult of their patron deity with the aboriginal Nahua worship at an early date, and even when the lunar calendar ceased to be operative and a solar time-count prevailed, the former was retained as a divinatory or astrological book, intimately connected with the daily life of the Nahua people. With the adoption of a solar method of computing time, solar and planetary attributes gradually came to be added to the greater Mexican deities.

At the epoch of the Conquest it is abundantly clear that the Aztecâ had succeeded in establishing their tribal cult and religious customs over a wide area. They had also adopted into their pantheon such deities of the surrounding tribes as

* 'Commentary on Codex Vaticanus' (1902-3), p. 75.

appealed to their imagination, or were too powerful to be ignored, and actually 'imprisoned' many others of lesser puissance, whose idols were kept in confinement in a building within the precincts of the great temple at Mexico-Tenochtitlan. We are as fully justified in speaking of a Mexican religion as we are in alluding to an Italic or a Hellenic religion, and perhaps more so than in extending the analogy to Egypt, where anything like homogeneity in either theology or popular worship appears never to have been attained.

Students of religious phenomena not infrequently show distaste for the deeper consideration of the Mexican faith, not only because of the difficulties which beset the fuller study of this interesting phase of human belief in the eternal verities, but also perhaps because of the 'diabolic' reputation which it is said to possess, and the grisly horrors to which it is thought those who examine it must perforce accustom themselves. It is certainly not the most obviously prepossessing of the world's religions; and I have thought it best to spare the reader an account of its sacrificial rites. Yet if a due allowance be made for the earnestness of its priests and people in the strict observance of a system, the hereditary burden of which no one man or generation could hope to remove, and the religion of the Aztecâ be viewed in a liberal and tolerant spirit, those who are sufficiently painstaking in their scrutiny of it will in time find themselves richly rewarded. Not only does it abound in valuable evidences for the enrichment of the study of religious science and tradition, but by degrees its astonishing beauty of colour and wealth of symbolic variety will appeal to the student with all the enchantment of discovery. The echoes of the sacred drum of serpent-skin reverberating from the lofty pyramid of Uitzilopochtli and passing above the mysterious city of Tenochtitlan with all the majesty of Olympic thunder, will seem not less eloquent of the soul of a vanished faith than do the memories of the choral chants of Hellas.

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DIRECT ACTION

1. **The History of Trade Unionism.** By SIDNEY and BEATRICE WEBB. Longmans, Green & Co. New Edition. 1920.
2. **History of British Socialism.** By M. BEER. Vols. i. and ii. Bell. 1919 and 1920.
3. **Bolshevism: An International Danger.** By Dr. MILIUKOV. George Allen and Unwin. 1920.

OUR social atmosphere scarcely recovers from one disturbance before ominous clouds are massing again in some fresh quarter of the industrial horizon. Many portents announce the approach of a new depression called vaguely 'direct action'; indeed already shrill gusts of increasing frequency and weight presage the imminence of a brewing storm. Not a few are conscious of the danger to the very foundations of our Constitution.

In the revised edition of their 'History of Trade Unionism' Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb point out that when they published in 1897 their 'Industrial Democracy'—a most able, detailed analysis of the then contemporary theory and practice of trade unionism—the term 'direct action' was unknown in this country. In point of fact, this name for the principle or practice of social coercion through economic pressure made its advent into this country from France and the United States of America in 1905. By 1912 it had passed into full currency among advanced sections of organised labour in Scotland and parts of England. But the root idea of direct action dates back in this country to Chartist days. In practice, direct action almost invariably implies either a sectional strike by a particular group or groups of labour, or a general strike by all groups of labour combined. All strikes are not however direct action. Wage earners reasonably contend that as any individual workman has the right to refuse to enter into or continue in a contract of service, any groups of workmen or all groups acting together are entitled to exercise a like freedom. And if the purpose of the strike is to enforce the workers' view in some dispute relating to wages or other conditions of their employ-

ment, then—unless we are prepared to pass an Act of Parliament prohibiting strikes and imposing compulsory arbitration with enforceable awards (which is neither practicable nor wise)—the right to strike for such purposes must be conceded with a correlative right accorded to the community to supply itself by private or public agencies with those commodities and services of which it is deprived by the strike. Mr. and Mrs. Webb are disposed to call such a strike ‘an economic strike’ and to use the phrase a ‘non-economic strike’ to designate a strike undertaken ‘not for any alteration in the conditions of employment of any section of the trade union world, but with a view to enforce, either on individuals, on Parliament, or on the Government, some other course of action desired by the strikers.’ It is only strikes of the latter type that they place in the category of direct action; in other words they make the purpose of the strike the test.

That criterion clearly places under the heading of direct action such a case as the refusal in 1917 of the National Union of Sailors and Firemen to work vessels by which two members of the Labour Party were preparing, at the instance of the Government, to travel on their way to Petrograd; also the similar refusal of the same Union in 1918 to carry Mr. Arthur Henderson and M. Camille Huysmans across the Channel *en route* for Paris. The object of the Union was to prevent the organisation of an International Socialist Conference. Another clear case was the action of the Electrical Trades Union in 1918 in ‘calling out’ their members engaged in the Albert Hall in London with instructions to appropriate the fuses—which did not belong to them—so as to keep the Hall in darkness and prevent it being used, as a reprisal against the proprietors for cancelling the letting of the Hall for a Labour demonstration. Further illustrations of the ‘non-economic strike’ were the threats of the compositors and printers in certain London newspaper offices to cease work during the railway strike in 1919 because of the adverse criticism of the railwaymen by the editorial staff; the threat of the miners to close down the coal mines in 1919 unless compulsory military service was abolished, and unless military and naval action by the British Government against the Soviet Government of Russia was discontinued; the scheme for a strike put forward by the miners in

August and September last under the guise of a claim for increased wages, but really for the political purpose of forcing the nationalisation of the coal industry. These illustrations of direct action in the form of a non-economic strike are but a few only of the many that can unfortunately be cited.

The very name 'direct action' indicates that the action in question is an alternative course to some other method which is regarded as indirect, but which is invariably the orderly method of procedure, that is to say, the method prescribed by industrial agreement, or by the rules of the trade union, or by the Constitution of the country. Hence the fundamental quality of direct action in my view is its anarchic character. Space does not allow of any minute examination of the motives of those groups or individuals in the Labour movement who deliberately resort to anarchic action in preference to orderly procedure. Some do it advisedly as recalcitrant minorities; they are bound by the formal agreement of majorities, yet wish to prevent the view of the majority being carried into effect. Others are reformers who regard orderly methods as effete, cumbersome, and dilatory, and are either not able or not prepared to work for gradual amendment. Yet again direct action is adopted with the ulterior object of wrecking existing craft trade union organisation, as for instance by the revolutionary unionists in the old skilled unions like the A.S.E., or by revolutionary syndicalists who wish to exercise and develop all the latent power of manual workers so that the weapon of the general strike may be sharp and bright on the day when it is to be used to hack down the Constitution, and usher in the industrial revolution, after the manner of Soviet Russia. These however are special reasons. In the minds of great sections of labour, direct action is regarded as the easiest and quickest, sometimes as the only road to political power. Labour is greedy for political power; it intends to make its political fortune, in the words of Horace—*'Si possis, recte; si non, quocunque modo.'*

The anarchic character of direct action, far more than its non-economic purpose, if the purpose be non-economic, which it very frequently is not, constitutes its real danger. Just as any anarchic method betokens, so does it beget, a lawless as distinguished from a liberal quality of mind. Human nature is not lawless in one sphere of its activity and constitutionally

mind in another, anarchic for example in industrial affairs and orderly in politics. The same strain runs through the whole length of the woof—an indisciplined individual makes as bad a citizen as he does a trade unionist. It was the anarchic character of direct action for economic purposes that impressed itself most strongly on the writer's mind during the years 1914-1918 before any of the non-economic strikes described above had occurred.

Take for instance the strikes of March to April 1916 in the engine shops of Clydeside of which the writer had the handling. The Government had made the 'Treasury Agreement' of 19th March 1915 with the trade unions, providing for the suspension of trade union customs in order to accelerate and increase output. The A.S.E. Executive Council had formally submitted the agreement by ballot to its members, who by a large majority had accepted it. Acting under the agreement the Government proceeded to introduce women into engineering shops throughout the country with the co-operation of the A.S.E. Executive. But on Clydeside members of the A.S.E. refused to allow women to enter the shops on the agreed conditions, or at all.

Many of the shop stewards,* in the engineering shops on Clydeside were members of the Socialist Labour Party. That insurrectionary sect was in close alliance with, indeed was but an offshoot of, the Industrial Workers of the World, the revolutionary syndicalist organisation in the United States of America. The principles of the S.L.P., copied from those of the I.W.W. involve class warfare, the destruction of the official trade unions and of all industrial organisations except those of a similar type and creed to the I.W.W. itself, the overthrow of all existing forms of constitutional government and their replacement by a government of manual workers. The method to be employed is direct action, or more generally any action calculated to secure quickly and effectively the ends in view. Mr. Beer in his most remarkable 'History of British Socialism,' vol. i. (1919),

* The shop stewards are persons elected by the men of each craft in each department of an engineering shop to act individually, or through a 'convener' of all the shop stewards of the particular craft, as the connecting link between the men of that craft in the works and the district delegate or district committee of the craft trade union.

vol. ii. (1920), says: 'The S.L.P. theories came nearest to those 'of Lenin and Trotsky,' and this eminent investigator cannot be charged as prejudiced against any species of revolutionary socialism.

On Clydeside in March 1916 the S.L.P. shop stewards saw their revolutionary opportunity. The writer held innumerable conferences with them trying to introduce harmoniously the agreed scheme of dilution of labour, but as fast as he made progress in the one direction with the assistance of the Executive Council of the A.S.E and their local Glasgow officials it was countered by preparations for obstructive direct action in the other. Finally the direct actionists matured their plans. It is a principle of theirs always to use the sharpest weapon. There was one immediately to hand. The army in France was in dire need of heavy howitzers to break up the system of trenches which the Germans had commenced to consolidate; Mesopotamia urgently required flat-bottomed barges. These two classes of munitions were being manufactured in engineering shops and shipyards on the Clyde. The direct actionists therefore brought out, or tried to bring out, on strike all employees in every shop and yard where the howitzers or any part of the howitzers or the flat-bottomed barges were in course of construction, with almost complete success and with disastrous national results. But the Government met direct action by action more direct, and deported from the Clyde the ringleaders, and the strike eventually collapsed. Early in 1917, the Trade Union Congress appointed a Committee under the Presidency of Mr. Robert Smillie, to inquire into the 'unconstitutionality' of the deportations (but not of the strike) and the Cabinet agreed, many people think wrongly, to submit their Act of State to the investigation of this Committee. Numerous persons, including the writer, were examined and cross-examined at great length before the Committee whose report is now a printed document published by the Labour Party. As to the facts there is no dispute, except that the Committee found that it was an entirely fortuitous circumstance that the strikes occurred only in those works where the howitzers and flat-bottomed barges were under construction and nowhere else!

In this direct action strike on the Clyde the purpose was to nullify the agreement between the Government and the trade

unions as to the introduction of women into the engineering trade, and to destroy the old craft organisation of the A.S.E. and set up a new industrial organisation for that trade. The purpose therefore was economic but the method was entirely anarchic.

Subsequently the Clyde Workers' Committee (the Committee of Clydeside shop stewards working in co-operation with the Socialist Labour Party) established revolutionary Workers' Committees in various parts of England and were to the writer's personal knowledge behind similar direct action unofficial strikes, repudiated by the Executives of all the unions concerned, in Barrow-in-Furness in June 1916, on the Mersey in the autumn of 1916, in the engineering shops of England in May 1917, and other places. These were all economic strikes against trade agreements and arrangements constitutionally concluded between the Government and the unions. That such anarchic strikes are entirely subversive of all law, order and government in a trade union organisation as well as in the body politic needs no emphasis. They are just as dangerous to society as any strike regularly declared by a trade union for a non-economic purpose.

But to revert to the non-economic strike:—Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, who have an unrivalled knowledge of the currents and under-currents of opinions in the industrial world, say on p. 672 of their 'History of Trade Unionism,'

'with regard to a general strike of non-economic or political character, in favour of a particular home or foreign policy, we very much doubt whether the Trade Union Congress could be induced to endorse it, or the rank and file to carry it out, except only in case the Government made a direct attack upon the political or industrial liberty of the manual working class, which it seemed imperative to resist by every possible means, not excluding forceful revolution itself.'

The kind of direct attack by the Government which the writers had in mind was the disfranchisement of the bulk of the manual workers, or the deprivation of the trade unions of their present rights and liberties, or the confiscation of their funds, and so forth. Short of such retrograde measures as these, it was the considered opinion of these eminently competent writers, looking out over the trade union world as recently as the autumn of 1919, that direct action would be turned down by the Trades Union Congress. Anyone would be justified in

drawing the same conclusion from even more recent denunciations by trade union leaders of direct action as 'a slippery slope,' 'an undemocratic boomerang.'

The specific issue of direct action, in connection with the operations against Russia, was brought before the Trades Union Congress in the second week of September, 1919; but was for the moment strategically shelved. Resolutions were however passed demanding the cessation of operations against Russia and the nationalisation of coal. To enforce these demands, the Parliamentary Committee was instructed in the former case to call a special Trade Union Congress to decide what action should be taken; in the latter to decide 'the form of action to be taken to *compel* the Government.' This special Congress was held on 9th December 1919; nationalisation had then become the real issue; but pending more forcible propaganda, direct action to enforce nationalisation was deferred to March 1920. In March, another special Congress was held; two means of enforcing nationalisation were outlined to the Congress, one a general strike, the other intensive political propaganda. Congress decided on a card vote against direct action and in favour of intensive political propaganda in preparation for a General Election.

The public congratulated itself on the sound common sense of Labour and lavished many encomiums on the far-sighted statesmanship of the Labour leaders who had so stoutly and signally shown the dangers latent in direct action to the trade union movement, to a Labour Government if it came into power, and to the nation. But the solidarity of the party was seriously endangered by the decision; for the direct actionists included influential sections of miners, railwaymen, transport workers, and engineers; to many of these direct action is an article of belief. Many moderates and extremists therefore strove to find an issue on which direct actionists and constitutionalists could be persuaded to co-operate. The production of munitions of war for use in Ireland and against Russia was chosen as the issue. It was cleverly contrived, and at a special meeting of the Trades Union Congress in July 1920 a resolution was passed in favour of a general strike to compel the Government to desist from armed intervention in Ireland, and in Russia, and instructing the affiliated unions to make the necessary domestic

arrangements for such a strike. Moderate Labour was thus impaled on the horns of an adroit dilemma, and the more pacifist it was, the more was it impelled to vote for direct action.

This time Labour congratulated itself that it had restored its all-essential solidarity ; but the solidarity achieved was more apparent than real,—the domestic arrangements for a general strike never progressed with much enthusiasm.

Then came the Polish imbroglio which the extremists exploited to the full for establishing in this country direct action as the recognised weapon of organised Labour. It is important to follow the course of events. On 6th August the Labour Party, without the slightest justification, publicly charged the Government with meditating a war against Soviet Russia in support of Poland, and claimed that the workers would be justified in refusing to render labour services in such a war. A special emergency meeting of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, the National Executive of the Labour Party, and the Parliamentary Labour Party then met on 9th August. 'It felt certain,' so the resolution ran, 'that war 'was being engineered between the Allied Powers and Soviet 'Russia,' and 'warned the Government that the whole industrial 'power of the organised workers would be used to defeat this 'war.' Arrangements were made for a national conference of organised Labour, and all affiliated organisations were advised to instruct their members to 'down tools' on instructions to that effect from the national conference. A 'Council of Action' representing the Parliamentary Labour Party, the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, and the Executive of the Labour Party was formed. The Council interviewed the Prime Minister on 10th August, to interrogate him as to the Government's intentions regarding Poland, ingenuously introducing themselves as not being there 'as a mere political 'party.' The same afternoon, the Prime Minister made his statement on the Polish question in the House of Commons, and during the evening the Bolshevik peace terms to Poland were published. On 11th August the Council of Action wrote to the Prime Minister demanding from him, in anticipation of the national conference fixed for 13th August, the Government's conditions for the establishment of peace between this country and Russia. The Prime Minister replied on 12th August

referring the Council of Action to his statement on that very point in the House of Commons, and reminding it that the British Government had proposed to Russia a general conference in London to consider the conditions of peace between Russia and the Western Allies on the sole condition that in the discussion of a general peace in Europe the discussion of peace between Russia and Poland should also be included, and that the Soviet Government had rejected this proposal. The Prime Minister suggested that the Council of Action should evince as much anxiety for a square deal between Russia and Poland as between Great Britain and Russia. On 12th August there was published the American note to the Italian Government on Bolshevist Russia. It contained the most pungent criticism of the Soviet protégés of the Council of Direct Action.

To this reasoned denunciation of Bolshevism by the United States Government the only reply of the Labour Party was to assert that it had been made in complete disregard of facts, at the instance and for the protection of capitalistic interests.

On 13th August the national conference met, 689 representatives of trade union executive committees, and 355 representatives of local Labour Party organisations and trade councils. Three resolutions were unanimously carried. The first endorsed the creation of the Council of Action. The second continued the Council in being until it had secured (1) a guarantee there should be no military or naval intervention against the Soviet Government; (2) the withdrawal of all British naval forces 'operating directly or indirectly as a 'blockading influence against Russia'; (3) 'the recognition of 'the Russian Soviet Government and the establishment of 'unrestricted trading and commercial relationship between 'Great Britain and Russia.' It also authorised the Council to order any and every form of withdrawal of labour which circumstances might require to give effect to the foregoing policy, and called for swift, loyal, and courageous action by every trade union official, executive committee, local council of action, and membership in general in response to such an order. The third resolution authorised the Council to take any steps necessary to give effect to the decisions of the Conference, and to 'the declared policy of the Trade Union and Labour 'movement.'

The effect of these resolutions is clear. All trade unions hand over their executive responsibility to the Council of Action, or Committee of National Security, as one speaker called it. The Council can impose its will upon the nation through the direct action of seizing it by the throat. That the will may be thought beneficent does not alter in the slightest the anarchic quality of the action. The Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, in proposing the second resolution, put it plainly: 'giving effect to this resolution 'did not mean a mere strike; it meant a challenge to the whole 'Constitution of the country.' The report says there were prolonged cheers. He reiterated the same statement at the subsequent meeting of the Trade Union Congress in Portsmouth. The Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Labour Party, in seconding the first resolution, was even more explicit.

'When the action referred to was taken, if too much interference was attempted, they might be compelled to do things that would cause the present authorities (*i.e.* the Government) to abdicate. They might be forced to tell them that if they could not run this country in a peaceful manner without interfering with other nations, they might be compelled, against all constitutionalism, to chance doing something to take the country into their own hands.'

There is nothing confused in this outlook. The speaker envisaged direct action as a method by which the Labour Party would become the Government without the ordinary preliminary of a General Election. The outsider wonders why the 'Inter-national,' which was sung immediately after the passing of the first and third resolutions, was omitted after the second.

To meet in massed force, and express their stringent condemnation of, and unalterable repugnance to, any steps in support of Poland or against Soviet Russia was of course within the constitutional rights of any group of citizens, and the Government of the day is bound always to take into account such expressions of popular feeling. It is the threat to use economic pressure to enforce a particular national policy that is intolerable in our democratic and free community. Once granted that force is legitimate, without any recognised limitation, then the character and degree of force become mere questions of opportunism and expediency, ending inevitably in the replacement of law and order by anarchy, to be followed by tyranny. That is why I believe the country will not brook any jerry-

mandering in sectarian interests with the Constitution that stands for all as the essential emblem of British liberty.

In support of this open attack upon constitutional liberty the Labour leaders in effect argued that the Soviet Government had repudiated any designs against the independence of Poland; that therefore any support given by the British Government to 'militant' Poland was an attack upon the Soviet Government; that this would be an unwarrantable interference with another country—a 'struggling democracy' enjoying a government of workers—and therefore more than doubly wrong; that preventive constitutional action was so slow as to be ineffective; that direct action was the only effective remedy and therefore was justified. The casuistical argument that the end always justifies the means invariably calls for more than superficial examination. The whole of the Labour argument for direct action, in this particular case, turns on the assumption that the Bolshevik Government was standing in a white sheet and contemplated no ulterior threat to Polish independence. Labour accepted Bolshevik professions to this effect with credulous alacrity. The Chairman of the special Labour Conference on 13th August said, 'They based their belief in the 'assured independence of Poland on the declarations of the 'Soviet Government.' He also said that as the Prime Minister had made the independence of Poland the keystone of British policy (he ought to have said that it was also the keystone of the Versailles Treaty), the Council of Action had got into touch with the representatives of the Russian Government, who had stated their proposed terms of peace to Poland, and these in the view of the Council of Action were not only fair but generous.

Then came the amazing *dénouement*. It turned out that, with characteristic Bolshevik duplicity, there had been deleted from the Soviet peace terms, communicated to the Prime Minister on 10th August, and published by way of anti-climax to his speech in the House of Commons, certain vitally important terms going to the root of Polish independence, which however were inserted in the peace terms published in Moscow on 11th August, and in those presented to the Poles at Minsk on 19th August. The doctored English version after specifying the strength to which the Polish army was to be cut down, provided that all

arms over and above those required for the needs of the army as so reduced, 'as well as of the Civic Militia,' were to be handed over to Russia. In the Moscow and Minsk versions, the Civic Militia was the crux of the terms; it was to be recruited from one class only, the workers; to be in strength four times that of the regular Polish army, and armed; in other words a Red Army in Poland. This exactly enforced Section 8 of Lenin's Third International Constitution which stipulates for 'the disarmament of the bourgeoisie and the arming of the workers to defend Communism until Capitalism shall finally have been abolished.' British Labour had resented the Prime Minister's caution against Soviet trickery, but how completely was the Prime Minister vindicated. Labour, whose resolutions on 13th August evinced, in Mr. J. H. Thomas's view, 'their fitness to govern' had been duped by their Soviet friends. The Council of Action described on 25th August this objection to the constitution of the Civic Militia as a 'flimsy pretext against peace,' and opined (no doubt again on Soviet representations) that it was a matter susceptible of negotiation. But they still adhered to their policy of direct action after it had been made abundantly clear that the independence of Poland was in fact fundamentally threatened.

Later, on 26th August, the Soviet Government withdrew the provision in regard to the Civic Militia, in an arrogant note attacking the capitalistic organisation of this country. There was in truth at no time any argument whatever to support direct action. The reason for its adoption was far more accurately stated by Mr. Robert Williams, the Secretary of the National Transport Workers Federation, who is a member of the Council of Action, and a director of the *Daily Herald*, now chiefly distinguished for its financial negotiations with Bolshevism. In the issue of that paper for 25th August, he is reported as follows:—

'We felt that with the policy of Mr. Lloyd George, which sways to and fro according to events, we were menaced with war from the moment that the Poles were in peril. Together with several friends we drew up a manifesto which even the Conservatives among the Labour leaders signed because they recognised clearly that they could no longer oppose the advanced elements *which had for so long insisted on the employment of direct action.*'

This recalls Lord Bacon's aphorism on faction: 'It is often seen that a few that are stiff do tire out a greater number that are 'more moderate.' The extremists have been struggling for ten

years to establish the adoption of direct action under all circumstances as Labour's normal weapon. They have succeeded because the chief anxiety of some Labour leaders, whether advancing at the head or running at the heels of their flock, is to secure or conserve solidarity. No gain in principle counter-balances loss of power.

Local Councils, in many districts called Soviets, have been organised to act in accordance with the instructions of the National Council of Action as received from the National Council either direct or through the medium of the *Daily Herald*. The Bradford Council's constitution is typical. It consists of representatives of the Bradford Trades and Labour Council, the Bradford Labour Party, the I.L.P., and the 'Hands off Russia' Committee. Somewhat amusing was it to see how quickly the Council of Action, when it realised that public opinion was strongly against it in its anti-constitutional direct action campaign, at once disclaimed any intention of calling a general strike in support of Soviet Russia. Apparently on second thoughts all it intended at the utmost was to veto the manufacture or transport of munitions or equipment for the Poles. The Council quickly appreciated that the nation will not tolerate the application in this country of revolutionary methods. One of the reasons advanced for the formation of the Council of Action was to 'prevent interference by the British Government 'in the affairs of Soviet Russia.' No sooner however was it formed, than two delegates of the Council went to Paris, there to interfere between the French Government and their workers. A little logic was infused into them by the French Government who very properly ordered them out of France.

To appreciate direct action, one must examine the origin of the revolutionary concept it embodies. That involves a retrospect of English industrial history, as far back as the days immediately preceding Chartism. At that time distress and despair prevailed everywhere among the workers, due to what is usually called the industrial revolution, namely, the introduction of machinery, of steam power and factory production, and also to the supersession of common-field tillage by enclosed agriculture. These sufficiently potent causes were aggravated by trade depression resulting from the Napoleonic wars. From these hard conditions the workers anxiously sought relief; they

not unnaturally charged 'the new capitalistic organisation of 'industry and society' as being wholly responsible for their plight. Various counter-agitations were launched and, feeding on the general sense of grievance, grew rapidly. The method of direct action was then first conceived as a means of securing constitutional democratic government to which the people significantly looked for relief. So great was the flood of feeling chafing under restraint that in 1810 the EDINBURGH REVIEW thus described the parlous national position.

'The great body of the nation appears to us to be divided into two violent and most pernicious factions: the courtiers who are almost for arbitrary power; and the democrats who are almost for revolution and republicanism. If the two parties are once permitted to shock together in open conflict, there is an end to the freedom and almost to the existence of the nation. In the present crisis, we have no hesitation in saying, it is to the popular side that the friends of the Constitution must turn themselves. If the Whig leaders do not first conciliate and then restrain the people; if they do not save them from their leaders they are already choosing in their own body . . . the Constitution itself, the Monarchy, and the Whig aristocracy will, in no long time, be swept away.'

Unfortunately the Government was too busy with war to pay any attention to home conditions, social or industrial. Upheavals quickly came: the great strikes of colliers and cotton spinners in northern England 1810, the Luddite outburst 1811-12, the Spa-Fields demonstrations, and the Spencean prosecutions 1816, Peterloo 1819, the Bonnymuir insurrection and the Cato Street conspiracy 1820. But these were marked by no consistent scheme of action. Two policies were however developing contemporaneously, both uncompromisingly anti-capitalist: one, the theory of Owenist socialism, opposed to strikes, class war, militant or political action, and proclaiming that salvation lay only in co-operative production, by which through education and enlightenment competition was to be replaced; the other an individualistic theory which postulated an inherent irreconcilability and therefore inevitable class war between Capital and Labour, regarded the capitalist as a non-producer battenning on the labour he exploited, and saw no hope for the workers save in a return to conditions of production in pre-factory days. Individual workers adhered indiscriminately to either school, but organised labour accepted neither fully. It inclined towards Owenism, and, imbued with radical proclivities, it regarded the

possession of political powers as the first essential means to elevate the worker. Three successive phases marked the movement: first, constitutional agitation for parliamentary reform, culminating at times in disorderly excesses; secondly, a revolutionary syndicalist agitation intended to effect the regeneration of industry and society directly under the pressure of economic action; thirdly, revolutionary political insurrectionism designed to secure, through direct economic action combined with armed rebellion, political power as the means of remodelling society and industry. Traditions are tenacious and memories long in organised labour; these early days have left ineradicable impressions.

From 1825 until the passing of the Reform Act of 1832 the middle classes and the greater part of the working classes marched in close alliance in favour of democratic parliamentary reform, though neither agreed with the other nor amongst themselves as to the ultimate purpose for which political power should be used when once obtained. For the workers the absence of manhood suffrage in the Reform Bill was a bitter blow. Deprived thereby of the power of expressing their will through the ballot box, they adopted the conception of enforcing it through direct economic action. The general strike idea, which was first developed in 1831 by William Benbow in his famous pamphlet, 'The Grand National Holiday and Congress of the Working Classes,' was acclaimed the irresistible means of transferring industry from capitalists to the workers, and thereby securing for the latter full political power as well. As Mr. Beer clearly puts it: 'The organised workers became 'revolutionary and anti-parliamentary and hoped for everything 'from the direct economic action of the masses; this period 'embraced the years 1832-34; it formed the second stage in 'the history of the growth of Chartism, its characteristic was 'syndicalism.'

But effective direct economic action was soon seen to be beyond the power of Labour as then organised, and far too risky. Realising that syndicalism was a rickety ladder for an attempted ascent to the re-organisation of society, the workers reverted to the idea that political power was the only effective creative power. Failing its voluntary concession, they urged its seizure by direct economic action or militant political

insurrection as the only means of inaugurating the social revolution. The agitation then took the form of revolutionary Chartism. This movement, embracing both the militant physical-force policy of insurrectionism and the pacific moral-force policy of permeation, made a catholic appeal. Its hidden history, now in great part explored, is interesting and important. From it Marx unquestionably borrowed his ideas of direct action, and his conception of the social revolution which he afterwards developed in his brand of revolutionary socialism. These borrowed ideas, like wandering spirits, have after many years returned to the land of their birth.

For twelve crowded years Chartism, and its theory and practice of militant direct action, made a deep impression upon the national life and thought. It combined a strange mixture of constitutional agitation and direct action. In 1838 came the publication of 'The People's Charter' and mobilisation of the workers in support thereof, in 1839 the National Convention. There followed a petition to Parliament and resolve, if necessary, to force acceptance of the petition by a general strike and by arming the workers; the Birmingham riots and incendiaryism; Parliament's rejection of the petition; the abortive general strike; the arrests; the Newport uprising. In 1840 came the establishment of the National Charter Association; in 1841, various ineffective electioneering efforts; in 1842, the second national petition and its rejection. A protracted general strike resulted in the north of England, followed by wholesale arrests and a general decadence of the agitation, until it flickered into life again under the stimulus of the French Revolution in 1848, and produced the Charter Convention of 1848 which was proclaimed as illegal; another abortive petition to Parliament, more arrests; then the end of Chartism in 1850.

For the next half-century Revolutionism and Labour parted company. Trade unions accepted the existing organisation of society and steadily devoted themselves to securing better rates of wages and conditions of employment for their members, firstly, by constitutional pressure upon existing political parties; secondly, by forming an independent parliamentary party of their own; and all the time by negotiation with employers. A remarkable burst of trade union enthusiasm, known as the New Unionism, occurred in 1889. It immediately

preceded and was enormously stimulated by the London Dock Strike of that year. Its main objects were to consolidate Labour by bringing all unskilled and semi-skilled workers within the trade union fold; to develop the political power of wage earners by securing Labour representation on State, municipal, and other public bodies. Mr. and Mrs. Webb say truly that this movement 'aimed, not at superseding existing social structures, but at capturing them all in the interests of the 'wage earners.' Through the power thereby gained, many of the leaders of the movement hoped to introduce State collectivist socialism, and shortly before 1900 the Labour movement as a whole became identified with those Socialist principles. But in the main the movement proceeded on constitutional lines.

In the present autumn Labour has caught a fresh revolutionary infection. The insurgent methods for achieving political power and thereby inaugurating the social revolution, which Marx had borrowed from militant Chartism and incorporated in his theory of revolutionary syndicalism, had been widely accepted, and extensively developed by organised Labour on the continent of Europe and by the Industrial Workers of the World in the United States of America. French trade unions were from 1900 to 1910 in the same elementary stage of development as were the English unions in Chartist days; in that embryonic state, revolution seems to be a dominating attitude of mind. The two persons mainly responsible for the introduction of modern revolutionary syndicalism into this country, where previously there existed only some few esoteric direct-actionist societies, were Mr. James Connolly and Mr. Tom Mann. The former, who was afterwards executed for complicity in the Irish Rebellion in 1916, came from the United States in 1905 and persuaded the Socialist Labour Party in Glasgow to link forces with the I.W.W. The latter, who is now the secretary of the A.S.E., brought the seeds of revolutionary syndicalism from Paris about the same time and sowed them personally by means of a widespread campaign.

For asserting this I have often during the war been taken to task by organised Labour, but I see that my diagnosis is now confirmed by Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb (p. 655, 'History of Trade Unionism'). Without any doubt whatever, the

Socialist Labour Party has contributed more than any other organisation to the spread of syndicalism in England. It describes itself as 'a revolutionary political organisation 'seeking to build up a communist movement in this country.' It works 'to sweep away the mass of debris which was once 'known as the parliament institutions.' Those who want to appreciate its activities in these directions ought to follow them in Dr. Miliukov's 'Bolshevism—an International Danger,' and I can personally vouch for and add to his testimony. The Socialist Labour Party was indubitably behind the revolutionary propaganda before the war among the miners and the railwaymen, and to some extent among the dockers, and it was responsible for many of the numerous 'irritation strikes' in 1911-14. Its disloyal action during the war, through the medium of the workers' committees and shop steward organisations, has been described. The S.L.P. and the I.W.W. were the original founders of the 'Hands off Russia Committee.'

Such has been the revolutionary ferment leavening English and Scottish labour since 1905—to it we owe our present recurrent outbursts of insurrectionism. The old orthodox trade unionist, if he was a Socialist at all, stood for bureaucratic State socialism; for nationalisation pacifically effected through the ballot box; the State buying out and stepping into the shoes of the employers in the great national industries. The revolutionary Socialist or syndicalist stands for ownership and control by the workers of every industry. The process of transfer may be assisted by nationalisation, but is regarded as only completely realisable by direct action applied through a decisive general strike timed to bring down to the dust the present political industrial and social organisations.

The English temperament invariably makes for compromise; moreover the motto of organised Labour is solidarity at any price. Thus we find the Labour Party in 1918 declaring for nationalisation plus a nebulous thing called 'Democratic Control' which can be interpreted as control solely or jointly by producers, consumers, or the State, according to the school of thought—State Socialist, National Guildist, or Syndicalist—of each individual adherent. In such an ambiguous compromise, with all its collateral doctrines of direct action, accompanied by a sectarian outlook which envisages political affairs

from the Labour standpoint only, it is not surprising that arguments justifying direct industrial compulsion can always be unearthed in confutation of those in favour of constitutional political agitation, and that moderate Labour men are often carried away. But the claim, if it be honest, that such action is democratic, is essentially a syndicalist conception. Under normal circumstances industrial belief either in the morality or in the effectiveness of direct action would not have hardened as it did during the war. The necessity of keeping industry going at all costs led to a supersensitiveness of the Government to Labour's threats. Some Labour leaders outside the Government were seemingly treated as unofficial members of the Government. There were frequent interventions by the Cabinet to overrule some Government department making a stand against unreasonable demands. All this helped to sow the whirlwind that is now gathering.

There is neither space nor need to argue how absolutely undemocratic is the notion of direct action, any more than to point out the nature of its insidious danger to the Constitution and to national liberty or even to the Labour Party itself. The English temperament, with its bias towards adventure and enterprise, is undoubtedly revolutionary in the sense that mere tradition will not prevent it breaking with the past, if the good to be achieved is obvious. But native common sense has many times restrained and saved it from excess, and on the whole the march has been towards progress.

LYNDEN MACASSEY.

Postscript.—Since this article was written, the account here given of the Council of Action has been explicitly confirmed by Lenin himself. In a speech transmitted by wireless from Moscow, he said :—

‘One of the consequences of our advance on Warsaw was a powerful reaction in the revolutionary movement in Europe, and especially in England. When the British Government presented us with an ultimatum, the British working men—nine-tenths of whose leaders are mere Menshevists—replied with the formation of a Council of Action. . . .’—*Times*, 30th September 1920.

SWISS DEMOCRACY

1. Real Democracy in Operation (translation of *La Démocratie Suisse*). By FÉLIX BONJOUR. Allen & Unwin. 1920.
2. The Swiss Confederation. By Sir F. O. ADAMS and C. D. CUNNINGHAM. 1889.
3. Étude sur la Souveraineté et l'État Fédéral. By EUGÈNE BOREL. Berne. 1886.
4. Le Referendum en Suisse. By SIMON DEPLOIGE. (English Translation, 1898).
5. Governments and Parties in Continental Europe. By A. LAWRENCE LOWELL. 1896.
6. La Démocratie Suisse et son Évolution. By F. GENDEL. 1891.
7. Die Schweizerische Demokratie. By I. DUBS. 1890.

INCONTESTABLEMENT, c'est la Suisse qui marche en tête de l'évolution démocratique. To Englishmen, to Frenchmen, or even to Americans, the claim made by M. Bonjour on behalf of his own country must be at first sight startling, not to say preposterous. But be this as it may, candour demands for it fair consideration. Is the claim in any sense admissible? The answer will to some extent depend, as it so often does, upon the definition of terms. If by 'democracy' is meant *federal* democracy, the claim might be admitted by Englishmen and Frenchmen; if by the term is meant *direct* democracy, it might even be admitted by Americans; if we combine both epithets, and for 'democracy' read federal direct democracy, M. Bonjour's complacent aphorism might command universal assent.

Nor should it in fairness be forgotten that the term 'democracy' is invariably used by Swiss publicists as the antithesis of representative Government. To Englishmen who are apt to identify the two principles, the point is so unfamiliar that it may justify if it does not demand illustration. Deploige, for example, assumes it when he writes: 'Soon after 1860 a perfect wave of *'democracy* seemed suddenly to sweep over the country, carrying 'all before it, and in a very short space of time the *representative system* was ousted from the position which up to that time it

'had succeeded in maintaining.'* Similarly M. Bonjour himself: 'In small communes the system is *democratic*, and in large communes *representative*.' Gengel, with obvious reference to Rousseau, puts the point explicitly: 'To say that popular sovereignty and universal suffrage are one and the same thing is ridiculous. Once the elections are past the electors have no possible influence over the Chamber.' To admit this antithesis, so familiar to the Swiss, as indeed to all disciples of the Genevan philosopher, demands from Englishmen, accustomed to regard representation as the adjunct and complement of democracy, a radical readjustment of their political preconceptions. The admission is however a necessary preliminary to the study of Swiss democracy, and it must therefore, temporarily at least, be made.

At any time a study of the operation of 'real democracy' from a writer so competent and a statesman so experienced as M. Félix Bonjour would receive a cordial welcome in this country; it is to-day peculiarly opportune. Of all the issues submitted to a distracted people infinitely the largest and most fundamental is that between the principles of Representative Government and Direct Democracy. Nothing could therefore be more timely than an intimate sketch of the working of political institutions in the Swiss Confederation from the pen of a former President of the Swiss National Council.

The first lesson to be derived from a study of M. Bonjour's book tends to reinforce one of the oldest maxims of political science: the relativity of all its conclusions. There is no absolutely best in Constitutions: the best Constitution is that which has been gradually evolved by the people who live under it, and which is most closely adapted to their peculiar circumstances and conditions. The Swiss Constitution of to-day, or rather the twenty-six Swiss Constitutions, are pre-eminently the product of a long process of political evolution. Nor can these Constitutions be understood or interpreted except by reference to the historical circumstances which have produced them.

Included in the Swiss Confederation of to-day there are three races, speaking three languages; nineteen cantons and six demi-cantons, each of which claims within its own sphere of

* 'Referendum in Switzerland,' pp. 82, 83.

jurisdiction to be sovereign. There is therefore, as M. Bonjour emphatically insists, 'not *one* democracy in Switzerland; there 'are as many democracies as there are cantons and demi-cantons.' Consequently we have to study not one Constitution but twenty-six. Each of these democracies has a history of its own, and each would repay study, but we must concern ourselves primarily with the Confederation. The evolution of that curious political formation which to foreigners is known as Switzerland falls into seven clearly marked stages.

The first is marked by the conclusion of *The Perpetual League of the Three Forest Communities* (1291): Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden. This Swabian League was one of the many leagues formed in the later Middle Ages for mutual protection within the jurisdiction of the Germanic or Holy Roman Empire. The 'Old League of High Germany' expanded during the first half of the fourteenth century (1291-1353) into the *Confederation of Eight Cantons*. This remarkable expansion was in large measure due to the resounding victory won by the peasants of the Forest Communities over the Habsburg Count on the memorable field of Morgarten (1315). Morgarten, with the almost contemporary fights at Bannockburn and Crecy, sounded the death knell of feudalism as a military system. It also baptized in blood the infant Confederation, born of the Perpetual League. The victory naturally brought fresh adherents to the League: Lucerne (1332); the Imperial City of Zürich (1351); Glarus and Zug (1352); and the Imperial City of Bern (1353). The new Confederacy won two great battles against the Habsburgs, at Sempach (1386) and at Näfels (1388), with the result that all political allegiance to the Habsburgs was finally renounced (1394). The Confederacy and its 'cantons' (to anticipate a convenient term) became lords and conquerors in their turn. Appenzell was reduced to subjection in 1411, and St. Gallen, parts of the Valais, of Aargau and Thurgau in the course of the fifteenth century. These territories came in not as confederates but as subjects. The cities of Freiburg and Solothurn were however admitted to the Confederacy in 1481; Basel and Schaffhausen in 1501, while in 1513 Appenzell was raised from dependency to membership.

The tie between the confederated cantons was of the loosest possible kind. When occasion demanded they sent their envoys

to a Diet; but the functions of the Diet were purely consultative. The envoys were instructed *ad audiendum et referendum*, but all decisions as to policy had to be referred to the Confederate States. The tie, never close, was further weakened by the Reformation and by disputes as to the disposal of conquests. These conquests brought not only Germans but Italians (in Ticino) and French-speaking Savoyards not into the bosom of the Confederacy, but under the rule of its members.

Over this confused conglomeration of sovereign communities, this medley of races and tongues, there passed in the last years of the eighteenth century the steam roller of Napoleon's armies. The Forest cantons offered a stubborn though vain resistance, and on 12th April 1798 there was solemnly proclaimed the *Helvetic Republic*, one and indivisible.

The Napoleonic conquest constituted the one real breach in the continuity of Swiss tradition. In the twinkling of an eye all the confusions and inequalities, the survivals and excrescences were made to disappear; the Old League of High Germany ceased to exist, and in its place there came into being a Unitary Republic on the approved French model.

But the unitary principle was wholly unsuited to the genius and opposed to the traditions of the Confederated Teutonic communities, and the experiment lasted only five years. The new Constitution was modelled upon the French Directorial Constitution of the year III. The territory of the Republic was redistributed with little regard for sentiment or tradition into twenty-three 'cantons,' a term which was now for the first time officially used. Over each canton was placed a Prefect representing the central Government.

The principles of civil equality and liberty of conscience were proclaimed, and all privileges, rights and burdens, both feudal and ecclesiastical, were abolished. The irony of the situation was that nothing could have been less congenial to the emancipated peoples. Liberty and equality had to be forced upon them at the point of French bayonets. In return for these priceless blessings the Swiss were compelled to conclude a military Convention with the French Republic (1799), which gave the French armies access into the heart of Germany and into North Italy. Enormous contributions were levied from the citizens, and for nearly three years (1799-1801) Switzerland

became the cockpit of Europe. The dissatisfaction of the people was manifested by a series of revolts and *coups d'état*. Napoleon, now First Consul of France, announced his desire to mediate; delegates from the various parties in Switzerland were summoned to Paris, and a new Constitution, known as the *Act of Mediation*, was drawn up (17th February 1803).

The *Act of Mediation* was a distinct improvement upon the *Helvetic Republic*. It recognised the sovereignty of the cantons, adding to the original thirteen six new cantons representing the allied and subject lands, such as Vaud, Ticino, and Grisons. Into the new cantons the principle of representative democracy was introduced; the old ones were divided into rural cantons with their primitive *Landsgemeinden* and urban cantons under burgher aristocracies. Upon the 'sovereign' cantons, new and old, was superimposed a central government with a federal Diet, a federal army and federal taxation.

For the next ten or twelve years Switzerland was little more than an appendage of the Napoleonic Empire, and in 1811 the Emperor appears to have contemplated the erection of a kingdom of Helvetia for the Elector Charles of Baden, the husband of his adopted daughter Stéphanie de Beauharnais. The Swiss were spared this culminating affront, but they were brought into the net of the 'Continental system,' and the trade of the towns was ruined.

On the fall of Napoleon the *Act of Mediation* lapsed, and a new Constitution, known as the *Federal Pact*, was, after bitter controversies and prolonged gestation, produced, and was approved at Vienna by the Great Powers by whom the independence and neutrality of Switzerland was guaranteed.

The *Federal Pact* was essentially centrifugal in character; it recognised the sovereign rights of the cantons, now increased to twenty-two by the inclusion of Valais, Geneva, and Neuchâtel; it set up a Diet of twenty-two delegates—one from each canton—and it invested with a sort of presidential authority the three principal cantons, Zürich, Bern, and Lucerne, each of which was to act in turn as convener and as the seat of Government for periods of two years. Consistency and continuity of policy, whether foreign or domestic, could hardly be expected of a Government which biennially shifted the centre of political power and the seat of administration, while the Diet proved

itself hopelessly ineffective even for the performance of the limited functions entrusted to it by the *Pact*.

That the overthrow of 'Legitimacy' in France should have engendered excitement among the Swiss republics is somewhat curious, yet the fact is unquestionable. Between 1830 and 1848 no fewer than twenty cantons revised their Constitutions. The doctrines of the sovereignty of the people and the separation of powers were solemnly proclaimed; universal suffrage was introduced; the right of petition, freedom of trade, of conscience, and of the press were adopted; a powerful impulse was given to education; normal and secondary schools were established, and the High Schools of Zürich and Bern were erected into Universities; above all the 'veto' was instituted, in various forms, in five cantons, while one—the canton of Vaud—established in its widest form the popular 'initiative.'

Despite constitutional changes of high significance in the cantons, there was almost perpetual discord in the Confederation; and in 1843 actual secession was threatened by the *Sonderbund*, or League of the seven Roman Catholic cantons. The *Sonderbund* received cordial encouragement from the absolutist Powers of the Continent, then under the domination of Metternich, and even Guizot and Louis Philippe looked kindly upon it. Palmerston, not sorry to have an opportunity of settling scores with France and Austria, vigorously espoused the cause of the 'progressive cantons.' Civil war broke out in 1847, but a brief and almost bloodless campaign sufficed to decide the issue. The *Sonderbund* was dissolved, the reactionary Governments in Lucerne, Valais, and Freiburg were replaced by Liberals, and above all the interference of foreign States in the internal affairs of the Confederation was firmly and finally repudiated.

The outbreak of the continental Revolutions of 1848 relieved Switzerland from all fear of further interference at the hands of autocratic neighbours, and left her free to carry out a radical revision of the makeshift Constitution of 1815. The scheme adopted in 1848 was extensively amended in 1874, but it still forms the basis of Swiss Government.

Under this Constitution, the Government of Switzerland and its cantons is at once genuinely democratic and genuinely federal. It is commonly affirmed that federalism implies duality of

sovereignty, and it may certainly be said of the national and the cantonal Governments of Switzerland that each within its own sphere is sovereign. As a fact however sovereignty is vested in the people, who exercise it, alike in national and cantonal affairs, by means of the veto, the popular initiative, and in some cases by the more extreme methods of the 'recall.' It is the more necessary to insist upon the diarchic character of the Swiss Government because many observers have been apt to suppose and to insist that cantonalism is everything and nationalism nothing among the Swiss. Yet the larger patriotism exists and grows steadily if not to the exclusion of, at least side by side with the lesser. True federalism implies both; and in the course of the last seventy years Switzerland has attained to it. Down to 1798 the cantons were united in a mere *Statenbund*—hardly more than a perpetual league of independent States; they now form a real *Bundes-stat*—a federal State—with highly developed organs appropriate thereto.

Of these the most important is the Legislature. There is not in the Swiss Constitution so strict a separation of powers as there is in the American. Switzerland is less faithful to the doctrine of Montesquieu than to that of Rousseau. But the Legislature is more strictly federal than the Executive. Like the Imperial Constitution of Germany the Swiss has assigned to the central legislature a large sphere in the making of laws while leaving it to the local Governments to carry them into execution. The main business of the Central Executive—the Federal Council—is to see that the cantonal officials do their duty. Should any conflict arise between the two authorities the Federal Council has two weapons ready to hand, both rather clumsy but among the frugal Swiss not ineffective: it may withhold the subsidies due to the recalcitrant canton, or it may quarter troops upon it.

In structure the Federal Assembly is bicameral, consisting of a National Council, or House of Representatives, and a Council of States. The National Council represents the people; the Council of States, like the American Senate and the German Bundesrat, represents the constituent cantons or States. The former contains 189 members, each representing roughly 20,000 persons. The electoral districts are as equal as conditions permit, but every canton must have at least one member, and

districts may not cut across cantonal frontiers. The franchise is extended to all males not under twenty years of age, unless they have been deprived of political rights by the laws of their own canton, but as all cantonal Constitutions must now be guaranteed by the Federal Legislature, and as the latter insists that the cantons must assure to their citizens the exercise of political rights, the franchise cannot be arbitrarily withheld. It is noticeable however that the country which is 'in the van-guard of democracy' contains only 900,000 electors out of a population of 3,885,500, or less than 1 in 4, while in the United Kingdom the proportion is about 1 in 2 $\frac{1}{4}$.

As regards the method of election, the principle of Proportional Representation was, after two vain attempts, adopted by popular initiative in October 1918, 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ cantons having voted in its favour, whereas in 1910 a majority of the cantons withheld their support. The National Assembly ordinarily meets twice a year, for four weeks, in June and December; members of the National Council receiving 20 frs. a day from the national treasury, while the wages of members of the Ständerat are paid, logically, by the cantons.

The Ständerat consists of forty-four members, the cantons—large and small—being equally represented by two members apiece, the demi-cantons by one. Like the American Senate, it embodies the *federal* as opposed to the *national* principle, but unlike the Senate it has no special functions which differentiate it from the 'lower' House. The initiation of legislation belongs equally to both Houses, and is in fact divided between them by their respective presidents at the beginning of each session. In every respect the authority and function of the two Houses are co-ordinate; in the exercise of certain electoral and judicial functions—as for instance in the election of federal councillors—they act as a single assembly in joint session.

The Federal Assembly is in no sense a sovereign parliament; not only is its authority shared with the cantonal legislatures, but it is constantly liable to be negatived and even superseded by the direct political action of the electors. To this point we shall return. Meanwhile the other organs of the central Government demand brief notice.

The position of the Executive is to Englishmen peculiarly interesting. It resides in the Federal Council, a body of seven

members elected by both Houses in joint session, nominally for a period of three years or for the duration of the Federal Assembly. Not more than one member may come from any one canton. The seven principal departments of State—Foreign Affairs, the Interior, Justice and Police, War, Finance and Customs, Industry and Agriculture, Post and Railways—are allotted by mutual arrangement among the seven councillors, one of whom is annually elected president and another vice-president of the Confederation by the Federal Assembly in Joint Session. Nominally the departmental offices are reallocated annually; as a fact they are almost invariably held for life.

This is however the less remarkable if it be borne in mind that the Federal Council is not so much a Cabinet, in the English sense, as a Committee consisting of the permanent heads of the Civil Service. It is not politically homogeneous, and its collective responsibility is doubtful, though the Constitution lays down (Article 103) that 'decisions shall emanate 'from the Federal Council as a body,' and Deploige says (p. 234) that the Federal Council has always been considered to be unanimous in its decisions. The administrative acts of the Council are supervised and may be reversed by the Legislature; but reversal carries with it no censure, and Federal councillors never dream of resignation if their advice is not taken by the Federal Assembly. They exist in fact to carry out the wishes of the Legislature or the people, as the case may be. Much more truly than the members of the Executive Council in Russia they might be described as the People's Commissaries. In neither House may they sit or vote; but in both they may attend and speak when proposed legislation is under consideration, and in both they may be required to answer interpellations connected with the business of their several departments. Their right to attend and speak gives them moreover considerable influence over the course of legislation.

Except in regard to foreign and military affairs, customs, posts and telegraphs, and one or two other matters, the Council has no direct executive authority. Ordinary federal laws and judgments of the Federal Courts are carried out, as we have seen, by the cantonal authorities, though under the control and supervision of the Federal Council. The Council exercises however considerable judicial powers; especially in regard to

those administrative matters which are by the Constitution excluded from the competence of the Federal Tribunal. There is in the Swiss Confederation a considerable amount of quasi-administrative law—perhaps a legacy of the Napoleonic occupation—but there are not, as in France, any special administrative tribunals; jurisdiction in these matters belongs to the Federal Council.

The Presidency of the Swiss Confederation is held for twelve months only, virtually in rotation, by the members of the Federal Council. The office has no political or administrative significance; the holder of it is merely the temporary chairman of the Federal Council, and not in any real sense the chief magistrate of the Republic. The acts and decisions of the President—so far as they are not purely departmental—emanate not from him but from the Council as a whole. The President is not therefore in the position of an English Prime Minister: he is not a party nor a parliamentary leader; he can neither dismiss his colleagues nor dissolve the Legislature, nor control the Executive. Still less do his powers resemble those of a strong President in the United States of America; he is not even, like the President of the French Republic, a constitutional ruler.* Nevertheless he and his colleagues enjoy the confidence and command the respect of their countrymen by their devotion to duties which are at once exacting, unexciting, and inadequately remunerated.

The Federal Council, as we have seen, possesses certain judicial powers; but there exists also a Federal Court of twenty-four judges appointed by the Assembly. The Court exercises both criminal and civil jurisdiction, but the competence of the Court in criminal matters is severely restricted and rarely exercised. In civil matters the Federal Court acts as a court of appeal from the cantonal courts in all cases arising under Federal laws, if the amount involved exceeds 3000 frs. It has primary jurisdiction in all suits between the Confederacy and the cantons, between canton and canton, or between individuals

* These words may call for modification before this article is published. The significant declaration made by M. Millerand on his election to the Presidency of the French Republic appears to foreshadow a change in the balance of the Constitution, the effect of which it is impossible—especially for a foreigner—to forecast.

and the Government, whether central or local. But its main function, according to Swiss jurists, is the exposition of Public Law, or constitutional questions,—provided that ‘conflicts of administrative jurisdiction are to be reserved and settled in a manner prescribed by Federal Legislation.’ The truth is, as already indicated, that the separation of powers is in the Swiss Constitution far from precise, either as between the different organs of the central Government, legislative, executive, and judicial; or between the Confederation and the cantons. On the latter point M. Bonjour observes (pp. 22-23): ‘The Swiss system is unique in that the spheres of the central authority and that of the cantons are not separated into water-tight compartments.’ And he adds: ‘Opportunities for friction are not lacking but in normal times any difficulties which may arise are overcome with little effort.’

It remains however profoundly true and profoundly significant that a survey, however general, of Swiss Democracy ought to concern itself rather with the cantons than with the Confederation. The difficulty is that the cantonal Governments still present a bewildering variety of detail. Politically, as M. Bonjour observes (p. 9): ‘Switzerland offers a picture almost as varied in its character as it does physically. All forms of Government are or have been practised in Switzerland, and the results of all of them can be studied there at the present time.’ It is this indeed which constitutes the value to be derived from a study of Swiss political institutions. ‘The twenty-five more or less autonomous States which comprise the Confederation and this Confederation itself are,’ as he says, ‘political laboratories always at work. They are all so many small nations animated by a desire to perfect their political organisation and to develop their democratic institutions.’ They ‘borrow from one another those forms of Government which appear to succeed best.’ On one principle however all are agreed; since 1860 all the cantons, with the exception of Freiburg, have accepted the principle of Direct Democracy.

Nevertheless, the acceptance of the principle still permits considerable latitude of interpretation. In the old League of High Germany, dissolved in 1798, there were no fewer than eleven *Landsgemeinden*. There are still six survivals of this form of primitive and most direct democracy. The Government

of these cantons is still vested in the whole body of adult male citizens, and in at least one canton (Appenzell-Ausserrhoden) participation in the *Landsgemeinde* is a civic duty up to the age of sixty years, and non-attendance is punishable by fine. Other cantons enforce the same principle by means of the *Referendum* and the *Initiative*. All the cantons, save Freiburg and the six which have primary assemblies (*Landsgemeinden*), have adopted both these devices.

The *Referendum*, in the cantons, assumes three forms: Compulsory, Optional, and Financial. All cantons are compelled, by federal law, to submit constitutional amendments to the popular veto. As regards ordinary legislation the Compulsory Referendum prevails in German Switzerland; the French and Italian cantons are content with the optional form. The Financial *Referendum* is either compulsory or optional according to the canton. Of the laws or decrees submitted under Compulsory *Referendum*, in the decade 1906-16, about 25 per cent. were rejected; of those submitted, in the same period, under the Optional *Referendum*, 229 were accepted and 73 rejected. 'The laws or decrees,' writes M. Bonjour, 'which the people seem to have most difficulty in accepting are those fixing the remuneration of magistrates, officials, or employees, or creating new offices; new taxes; and laws which restrict individual liberty or appear to maintain privileges' (*ibid.*, p. 110). Proposals are however not infrequently defeated on a first or second presentation and accepted on a third or subsequent occasion; the veto in fact is suspensive rather than absolute.

More directly democratic even than the *Referendum* is the *Popular Initiative*. This again is of two kinds, 'general' and 'formulated,' and may be applied either to ordinary legislation or to constitutional amendments, or to both. It is set in motion by a prescribed number of electors; 50,000 electors are required in the Confederation; in the cantons the number varies according to population. A 'general' *Initiative* or 'motion' merely calls upon the Legislature to draft a law or a decree on a particular subject; under the 'formulated' *Initiative* the actual terms of a Bill or a decree are presented to the Legislature which is bound to submit it, without amendment, to the vote of the people. All that the Legislature may do is to submit an alternative Bill or

decree on the same subject, in which case the people may by *Referendum* accept either or reject both. This highly democratic device was first introduced by the canton Vaud in 1845, when the right of initiation was conceded to any 8000 electors. It now extends to all the cantons except Freiburg and those which possess *Landsgemeinden*, and even in Freiburg 6000 citizens may call for total or partial revision of the Constitution.

The results of the cantonal Initiatives are far less subversive than might be anticipated. Out of thirty-six proposals initiated between 1905 and 1916, only ten have been accepted. When these figures are compared with those of the *Referendum* it is manifest, as M. Bonjour points out, that 'the people is much 'more circumspect and discreet about proposals coming from 'one or another of its sections than about the laws and decrees 'passed by its representatives.' There can however be no doubt that the mere existence of the *Initiative* and the possibility of its employment exercises a stimulating effect upon the Legislatures, and it is not without significance that of late years the majority of constitutional amendments have been initiated not by the people but by the Great Councils.*

In the National Government the *Referendum* has been adopted both in the compulsory and the optional form, but not in the financial. Constitutional amendments, but those only, *must* be submitted to a popular vote; to ordinary legislation the veto may be applied on the demand either of eight cantons or of 30,000 electors. No Bill, thus referred, can become law unless it receives the assent both of a majority of the electors who actually vote, and of a majority of the cantons. Of the twenty constitutional amendments proposed by the Federal Council or Assembly, since 1874, when the present Constitution came into force, sixteen have been accepted and only four rejected. Of the four which were on a first reference rejected, two were subsequently accepted. The 'Optional *Referendum*' yields, as one would expect, somewhat different results. Between 1874 and 1917 a *Referendum* on ordinary Bills or decrees was demanded in thirty-one cases, and in nineteen out of these the opposition was successful. Not infrequently however the opposition has proved to be temporary; it has proceeded from an objection to the details rather than the

* Bonjour, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

principles of proposed legislation, and has been overcome when the objectionable details have been deleted.

The *Initiative* has been in operation in the Confederation for twenty-six years. In that period eleven attempts have been made by various sections of the people to secure a partial revision of the Constitution: in only three cases have they succeeded. Among the unsuccessful attempts may be noted a proposal for the recognition of the 'right to work' which was rejected by 308,289 votes to 75,880; a proposal for the direct election of the Federal Council; and a third to institute Proportional Representation was twice rejected, but adopted on a third appeal (October 1918) by 299,550 votes to 149,035, and by 19½ cantons to 2½. In passing, it is proper to observe that the distinction between 'constitutional' and 'ordinary' amendments is, in practice, to a large extent illusory. Virtually any 50,000 citizens can by the use of the *Popular Initiative* obtain a vote of the Swiss people and of the cantons upon any proposal whatever, provided it is put in the form of a constitutional amendment, a provision which makes no excessive demands upon the ingenuity of a draftsman.

On the whole, M. Bonjour is optimistic as regards the results of the *Referendum* and the *Initiative* in Switzerland. Legislative projects, carefully conceived and well thought out by the Federal Council and the Assembly, are rarely rejected, except temporarily, by the votes of the people and the cantons; and so far from weakening the responsibility of the elected Legislature, the *Referendum*, in M. Bonjour's opinion, tends to increase it.

Projects of law are, he contends, drafted with greater care and precision and are expounded to the electors with greater intelligence and zeal. The device may, he admits, hinder the 'overluxuriant growth of legislation,' but it certainly stimulates the political education of the individual electors, and, taken in conjunction with the *Initiative*, it affords a real safeguard against revolution. A conclusion so decided emanating from a source so authoritative, cannot be lightly set aside.

M. Simon Deploige's judgment is more ambiguous. He admits that, for various reasons, the *Referendum* is comparatively harmless in Switzerland, but he is emphatic in his opinion that the last thing which is elicited by the device is a clear verdict on a particular issue. 'The result of a vote,' he says, 'may be

'fortunate or unfortunate, but it has been determined as a 'matter of fact by a thousand different influences, and to speak 'of it as the expression of a thoughtful and conscientious popular 'judgment is only to juggle with words' (p. 293). M. Deploige's testimony is, it may be urged, less recent and less authoritative than M. Bonjour's. But whatever the verdict may be as regards Switzerland we must beware of hasty generalisation. The Swiss people have with manifest success worked out a certain political system for themselves, but, as Mr. Lowell points out, it would be dangerous to infer that 'their methods would produce the same 'effects under different conditions. The problem they have had 'to solve is that of self-government among a small, stable, and 'frugal people, and this is far simpler than self-government in a 'great, rich, and ambitious nation.'*

The caution is very far from superfluous, whether it be addressed to Mr. Lowell's countrymen or to our own. Whatever may be said for or against the *Referendum* and the *Initiative*, this cannot be denied: that in Switzerland they are native products; they are devices which have been engrafted on to the Federal Constitution after prolonged and varied experiments in the laboratories of the cantons; they are in complete harmony with the 'spirit of the Polity,' and they are employed by a people who have enjoyed the advantage of a long apprenticeship in the art of self-government.

The Polity devised and elaborated for their own use by the Swiss people is among the nations of the modern world *sui generis*. Nowhere else, except possibly in Soviet Russia, is the type of modern democracy direct. Even in Switzerland the representative principle has been partially adopted, but the people as a whole are sufficiently habituated to the methods of direct democracy to be able to combine the two principles without inconvenience. But the Swiss type of democracy, though partially 'representative,' is neither 'parliamentary' nor 'presidential.' Manifestly it is not 'parliamentary' in the English sense, since the Assembly would never dream of dismissing the Ministers in consequence of the rejection of Bills proposed by them; still less would the Ministers dream of resigning because

* A. Lawrence Lowell: 'Governments and Parties in Continental Europe,' ii. 335-36.

their projects of law failed to find favour with the Legislature ; least of all would the Legislature dissolve itself because its legislative schemes were rejected by the people or because the people anticipated its action by means of the *Initiative*. If Swiss democracy is not 'parliamentary' neither is it, in the American sense, 'presidential.' The 'President' is not elected by the people nor has he any more influence upon the course of administration, nor upon policy, than any other member of the Federal Council. Among his colleagues in the Council he is temporarily *primus inter pares*, but like them he is the agent if not the servant of the Federal Council whose orders he and his colleagues carry out, in much the same way as the permanent officials of the English Civil Service carry out the orders of their political chiefs.

Non-presidential ; non-parliamentary ; Swiss democracy is, like American democracy, federal in texture ; like English democracy it is the outcome of a long process of historical evolution ; like no other democracy in the modern world it is in genius and in essence direct. Whether or not we can concede the claim of M. Bonjour that only in Switzerland is 'real' democracy to be seen in operation, certain it is that the working of Swiss democracy is on many grounds of peculiar interest to the student of political institutions, and not least on this : that in the modern world it is unique.

J. A. R. MARRIOTT.

POPULATION AND PROGRESS

1. *The Control of Parenthood.* Containing Essays by various writers for and against the Malthusian Theory. Edited by JAMES MARCHANT. Putnam's Sons. 1920.
2. *Land and Labour in a Deccan Village.* By HAROLD H. MANN, University of Bombay. Oxford University Press. 1917.
3. *The Fall of the Birth-Rate.* By G. UDNY YULE. Cambridge University Press. 1920.

IN the July number of the EDINBURGH REVIEW the present writer contended that the most persistent cause of war is the overgrowth of population. That consideration alone is a sufficient reason for urging that it is the duty of all nations deliberately to control their inherent capacity of increase so that they may not be forced into conflict with one another. There is however a further and perhaps even stronger reason why the growth of population should be controlled by reason, instead of being left to animal instinct. It is this: that in any large population a low birth-rate is a necessary condition of racial progress.

This proposition does not affect human beings alone. It is true of all forms of life. Plants furnish the simplest illustration. Where there is plenty of room to spare and the wind will scatter the seeds widely many seedlings will grow into vigorous plants. But where room is limited, either the seedlings must be thinned out or the plants will be dwarfed. Left to herself, Nature acts capriciously. Sometimes a crop of stunted plants is produced; sometimes one strong individual asserts itself and the weaklings are crushed out of existence by its overpowering growth. The wise gardener does the thinning judiciously at an early stage, and a strong group of healthy plants results.

Human beings cannot escape from these necessary conditions of growth and life. It is true that they can carry their seed to distant continents, and if there are only a few of them—as in the case of the early English settlers in the North American continent—they can safely multiply their numbers

for a time very rapidly. In the same way, according to the Biblical narrative, an even more advantageous opportunity 'to be fruitful and multiply' arose immediately after the Flood. The whole world then contained, as far as can be gathered from the Book of Genesis, only eight people, and the best thing they could do for the future of the human race was to set to work to 'replenish the earth.' But these opportunities for an unlimited rate of increase are rare. The world has been completely replenished since Noah and his sons escaped from the Flood, and there are no new continents left to discover. It is of course true that in parts of the globe there are wide areas that still remain almost untenanted, and some of these are suitable for the maintenance of a large population. That fact is a powerful argument for wholesale migration from crowded urban centres, such as London and New York, to regions where there is more elbow room. But even if the Londoners and New Yorkers could be persuaded to move, the ultimate problem of the birth-rate would still remain.

Let it be clearly understood what the phrase birth-rate means. It means the ratio between the number of children born in any one year and the number of persons living in that year. Consequently the birth-rate by itself gives no measure of the numbers added to the population in any given period. The eight survivors of the Flood—Noah and his three sons and their respective wives—even if they had indulged in the maximum possible birth-rate, say one child to each woman each year, could only have added four persons to the population every twelve months. Yet the birth-rate in the first year would have been 500 per thousand. In the second year, the population having grown from 8 to 12, the birth-rate resulting from four more births would have been 333 per thousand; in the third year on the same assumption, 250; by the fifth year it would have dropped to 166, and would continue dropping until some of the children were old enough to have babies themselves.

Next take a population such as that of the island of Great Britain to-day—say in round figures 42,000,000—and assume for simplicity of calculation that one-sixth of the population consists of women of the child-bearing age. Then if each woman had one child each year as we have assumed in the case of Noah's family, the birth-rate would be 166 per thousand; but

that rate instead of yielding four children as in Noah's day, would yield seven million. Even if we divide that rate by three, so as to allow fully for unmarried women and cases of infertility, we should still get more than two million new babies every year, or at least twice as many as the most strenuous modern advocates of a high birth-rate, of maternity grants and subsidised parentage, have yet gone the length of demanding. Yet modern theologians still continue to quote the injunction given to Noah's family to be fruitful and multiply, as if that finally settled the whole problem of parentage for all countries and for all time.

In a word, high birth-rates, that may be desirable for small populations with limitless opportunities of expansion, are impossible for large populations already short of elbow room—except upon one condition. That condition is that a high infantile death-rate shall keep pace with the high birth-rate. In all the lower races of living things this happens. Weeds and insects have no lack of offspring, but the survival rate is one hundredth or one-thousandth of the birth-rate. A similar consideration applies to many of the races of mankind, and notably to the Chinese:—

‘One cannot see a Chinese village and its inevitable pullulating horde of children without realising the vital problem of the East, a problem so immediate and tremendous that it dominates the mind like an evil dream. . . . The picture is the same from one end of the country to the other; cities and villages innumerable taking their toll of the land; hamlets huddling ever closer in the valleys, where every field already supports more lives than would be possible in any other country except India; a third of humanity struggling hopelessly and unceasingly to procreate and maintain its swarm of predestined hungry ones. And for these there is no outlet; the untilled lands beyond the seas will have none of them; here they must live somehow or die. . . . And so the inexorable law works out its own pitiless solution, and they go down, these superfluous lives, by millions, to fatten the tired earth which could not fatten them. The whole sorry tragedy goes on before our eyes: infanticide, rebellions and disease, swift slaying famine or slow starvation.’ *

These are the remedies that Nature ruthlessly and irresistibly applies when the birth-rate of any population is too high for the circumstances in which that population is living. On the other hand, in populations where the birth-rate is to some slight extent regulated by considerations of parental prudence, so that

* ‘Houseboat Days in China,’ p. 81. By J. O. P. Bland.

children are not poured into the world with absolute recklessness, this wholesale massacre of the innocents begins to abate. Thus the Western countries of Europe with their relatively low birth-rates have much lower rates of infantile mortality than countries like India, China, or Russia. More than this, even in those European countries where the birth-rate is already low, as judged by Eastern standards, each further lowering of the birth-rate is accompanied by a further reduction of the infantile death-rate. On this point some striking figures were given by Sir Bernard Mallet, Registrar-General of Births and Deaths for England and Wales, in his presidential address to the Royal Statistical Society in November 1917. He then said:—

‘In Germany, between 1906 and 1913, the birth-rate declined by 17 per cent.; the infantile mortality by 18 per cent. In England and Wales in the same period the birth-rate fell by 11 per cent.; the infantile mortality 18 per cent. In Denmark the fall in the birth-rate was 11 per cent.; in infantile mortality 14 per cent. In Norway the birth-rate fell 5 per cent.; infantile mortality 6 per cent. In Sweden the birth-rate declined 10 per cent.; infantile mortality 13 per cent.’

The striking concurrence of these figures sufficiently indicates that it is possible in all countries to secure a considerable saving of infant life by reducing the rate at which new babies are born.

The human importance of this world-wide fact will be appreciated even more by women than by men. It is women who have to face the anxieties of gestation and the risks of parturition; it is women who have to struggle to keep alive by motherly care the little thing they have brought into the world, and women are justified in revolting against religious dogmas and social customs which require them to give birth to children who are only born to be buried.

But it is not women alone who suffer from the high mortality that follows high natality; the whole community suffers. At the present time in our own country a very considerable fraction of the energies of the nation are absorbed in the business of bringing into the world and temporarily maintaining many thousands of infants who die in early childhood. Doctors and nurses who might be employed on work of real value to the nation are compelled to spend a large part of their time on work which could have been avoided, and which produces no result except an additional task for the grave-digger and the coffin maker. In the four years, 1911 to 1914, there were 575,078

deaths in England and Wales during the first five years after birth.* It is impossible to picture the amount of useless suffering and sorrow that this fact implies.

Nor does the evil end with the high infantile or juvenile death-rate. Many children survive childhood only to reach maturity as permanent weaklings. There is no doubt whatever that the low standard of health prevailing through a large part of the population of most countries is to a considerable extent due to the excessive rate at which children are born. A mother with babies rapidly following upon one another cannot in normal circumstances give to her children the amount of care and nourishment needed for a fair start in life, and they grow up weak in body and mind, a ready prey to every disease that attacks man.

On this point it is worth while to quote from an address delivered to the American Public Health Association by Dr. Knopf, Visiting Physician for the Consumptive Poor of the Health Department of New York. The address was delivered in Cincinnati on 27th October 1916. Dr. Knopf says:—

‘Concerning tuberculosis, with which by reason of many years’ experience I am perhaps more familiar than with other medical and social diseases, let me relate the interesting fact that a carefully taken history of many, many cases has revealed to me that with surprising regularity the tuberculous individual, when he or she comes from a large family, is one of the later born children—the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, etc. The explanation for this phenomenon is obvious. When parents are older, and particularly when the mother is worn out by frequent pregnancies and often weakened because obliged to work in mill, factory, or workshop up to the very day of confinement, the child will come into the world with lessened vitality, its main inheritance being a physiological poverty. This systemic poverty will leave it less resistant, not only to tuberculosis but to all other diseases of infancy and childhood as well.’

Notoriously it is in the poorest classes that the largest families are now generally to be found, and of late years people who call themselves ‘social reformers’ have attempted to grapple with the resulting high infantile mortality by invoking the power of the State to assist the mother in the duties of maternity. Whether any results of permanent value will accrue from these devices is doubtful. The new-born infant may be

* Report of Local Government Board, p. 7. Cd. 8496.

tided over some of the difficulties of the first few months of life, but unless its surroundings can be completely changed its chances of growing to vigorous manhood will not be greatly increased. Nor will the saving of child life with the aid of State subsidies in any way remove the final necessity for birth control; it will only remove for a time some of the ugliest consequences of the absence of control.

Meanwhile a whole group of new problems would arise, among them the question whether the State is to continue to recognise the institution of marriage. If the State undertakes to maintain a child, or to help to maintain it, lest that child should die from parental neglect, clearly there is even more reason for spending public money on illegitimate than on legitimate children, because there is less likelihood of the former enjoying adequate parental care. Consequently if the State is to undertake full responsibility for the preservation of child life, it must be prepared to subsidise every unmarried mother to the full extent needed for the maintenance of the child, and for her own maintenance while she is in charge of the child. A new profession for women will then arise. Women of the lower types will offer themselves to any man, and as soon as they become pregnant will report to the State Maternity Department and claim provisional allowances. When the child is born the mother will claim a higher allowance until such time as the child is certified by a State doctor to be fit to be removed from the care of its hireling mother and to be transferred to a State school or some other State institution. It seems improbable that such a method of multiplying the population will lead either to the improvement of the race or to the increase of human happiness.

The State moreover would have to decide what was to be done with regard to hereditary disease. As the temptation to enter the profession of State maternity would be most attractive to women of the lowest type, it is probable that the State would quickly be saddled with a large proportion of syphilitic and otherwise diseased children, and it would have to bear the cost of enlarging infirmaries and lunatic asylums for them to live in. Faced with these unpleasant facts, probably the social reformers would begin to advocate the sterilisation of the unfit, and compulsory abortion for pregnant women suspected of hereditary disease.

Even so the problem of the birth-rate would still remain, for as the population continued to increase it would sooner or later become absolutely necessary that the rate of increase should decline. This is an arithmetical truth, or truism, from which there is no possibility of escape. Even a yearly rate of increase as low as 1 per thousand, if continued indefinitely, would in time fill the country till there was not even standing room left. Consequently the State, having made itself responsible for trying to save the lives of all the children born, would have to take compulsory measures to limit the number of births.

Thus none of the modern devices, for trying by means of State subsidies to mothers to get over the evils of an uncontrolled birth-rate, remove the ultimate necessity for that control. The utmost they can effect is the substitution of the impersonal supervision of the State for the human affection of father and mother. That may be socialism, but it is not human progress.

An interesting illustration of the direct connexion between a low birth-rate and human progress by chance came under my observation recently. It is contained in a report issued by the University of Bombay on the conditions of life in a small Indian village. The report is in no way intended to support Malthusian or any other controversial propositions. It has been written by Dr. Mann, Principal of the Poona Agricultural College, in collaboration with various students in the college, and its whole purpose is to give a detailed account of the economic conditions prevailing in a typical village of the Deccan. It contains statistics of the rainfall, analyses of the different soils, particulars of the different crops grown, an enumeration of the cattle maintained, and so on. It also contains a precise enumeration of the inhabitants, with particulars of the castes to which they belong, of the amount of the land they own, of the houses they occupy, of the various ways in which they earn a living, of the debts they owe, and of the family income in each case. Such details could hardly be obtained by any methods of inquiry in most countries. But in India the land revenue system involves very careful statistical information, and the simple life of the village renders that information easily accessible. On the general condition of Deccan villages, the report says (p. 150):—

‘Formerly a Deccan village was one of the most self-contained units it is possible to conceive. It had its own organisation; village work

of almost all kinds was done by recognised village servants, who were part of the village arrangements. It governed itself, and had little to do even with the Government when once the revenue was paid. The land was divided into reasonably large holdings, and the produce from the land was sufficient to maintain the whole village population. . . . 'One of the first results of the conditions brought in by the British rule was a gradual increase in the population, and hence under the arrangements usually found under Hindu law, a further subdivision and fragmentation of the land.'

The particular village which is described in detail contains 111 separate households. The large majority of householders own and cultivate land, but many families support themselves partly by other labour. There are various employees of the village—the shoemaker, the carpenter, and so on—while several men get occasional work at a neighbouring town. The report carefully analyses the economic condition of these 111 households, comprising a population of 556 persons of all ages, of whom 161 are children under sixteen years of age.

There is a small group of 8 families in a thoroughly good position. They have enough land for their needs and relatively few children. 'This accounts,' says the report (p. 139), 'for the present satisfactory economic position. Let the number of children increase, and most of these families would fall into Group III., until the children earned money, when it might stand in Group II.' The second group consists of 28 families who are slightly less prosperous than the first; but they are able to maintain themselves in fair comfort and pay interest upon their debts, because of the small proportion of children in each family, leaving a large proportion of adults and possible money earners. The third and largest group 'consists of those who cannot pay their way and live according to the village standard.' Most of them own some land, but the proportion of children per family is excessive for the circumstances in which these families live.

Summing up, the report says (p. 145):—

'As the economic position gets lower the size of the family increases. Whether it is the size of the family that drags the household down to a lower economic plane, or whether it is poverty that has something to do with a larger family, is not entirely clear in all cases.'

This report has been quoted at some length because it gives a picture on a small scale of a world-wide problem. Everywhere

the lower groups are found to have the larger families, and everywhere poverty and a high birth-rate act and react upon one another. If the birth-rate is uncontrolled, the family is dragged down to poverty; if the parents are poor they lack the spirit of control. Whichever be the dominant factor the result remains; poverty and a high birth-rate go hand in hand. The inference is irresistible, that where the birth-rate is uncontrolled poverty will continue.

This conclusion is challenged not only by theologians, who assume that every world problem can be settled for all time by a quotation from the Book of Genesis, but also by persons who are engaged in advocating various schemes of social reorganisation, and who contend in effect that the adoption of their panaceas would remove the necessity for the control of human passions. Thus the teaching of Malthus was vigorously attacked by Henry George, who is now almost forgotten, but who in the 'eighties was hailed by tens of thousands of people throughout the English-speaking world as a new prophet. Henry George attributed all the ills of the world to the private ownership of land, and went so far as to say that even the direct interposition of the Creator would not avail to abate poverty unless the private ownership of land was abolished.* Naturally he disapproved of any doctrine that taught that there were other possible explanations of the continuance of poverty. He was as strongly opposed to socialism as to birth control.

In turn, many of the Socialists have a similar mentality. They declare that every ill the flesh is heir to results from the private ownership of capital, and oppose Malthusian teaching lest it should diminish popular enthusiasm for their programme. The 'social reformers' are even more alarmed lest the importance of their schemes should be diminished by the simple device of birth control. On this point it is worth while to examine a chapter which the Rev. Alfred E. Garvie, Principal of New College, London, has contributed to the recently published volume of essays on 'The Control of Parenthood.' This volume is intended to give both sides of the Malthusian controversy. It contains several essays strongly in favour of birth control; others as strongly opposed, and others hesitating. Principal

* 'Progress and Poverty,' p. 390. Kegan Paul. 1906.

Garvie is an opponent. His attitude is best set forth in his own words:—

‘The question is, Shall the population be reduced so as to make unsatisfactory conditions less intolerable, or shall the conditions be so improved that the population may be maintained or even increased without loss or hurt? The answer of the social reformer (and in the writer’s judgment his is God’s authentic voice) is that the conditions must be improved.’*

He goes on to impute to Malthusians a desire to bolster up conditions which they condemn as strongly as he does, and he thinks it ‘no lack of charity’ to suggest that some of the advocates of the restriction of the family ‘are animated by the ‘desire to maintain conditions which are highly favourable to ‘the few, and actually if not necessarily deeply hurtful to the ‘many.’ This kind of charge is always made by zealous reformers in answer to those who tell them that their particular reform will not cover the necessities of the case.

The Malthusian position is that neither the land nationalisation of Henry George, nor the socialism of Karl Marx, nor the social reform of Principal Garvie, will secure the progress which these reformers postulate unless the growth of population is controlled. It does not in the least follow that Malthusians are advocates of the present order or opponents of any specified reform. Indeed there is no reason whatever why land nationalists and Socialists and social reformers should not also be Malthusians.

The suggestion that Malthusian teaching would help to ‘maintain conditions which are highly favourable to the few,’ and ‘hurtful to the many,’ is the direct contrary of the truth. In the preface to his first ‘Essay on Population’ Malthus sets forth clearly as the object before him ‘the improvement of ‘society.’ If only his teaching had begun to produce practical results in the first quarter, instead of in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the history of the working classes of England during that century would have been fundamentally changed. The substitution of steam-driven machinery for hand labour during the earlier years of the nineteenth century might have led to an immense uplifting of the condition of the wage-earning class by enabling each manual worker to earn more with less

* ‘Control of Parenthood,’ p. 156.

effort. Instead, this great industrial revolution led in many cases to an actual lowering of the wage-earners' standard of life. And the whole reason was that the new opportunities of employment stimulated the production of children to tend the new machines. The birth-rate went up with a bound, and it was not the wage-earner but the employer who benefited, for he was able to obtain cheap child labour while adult workmen were thrown out of employment or driven to accept starvation wages.

The evil was aggravated by the follies of the old Poor Law which Malthus had strongly denounced. Farm labourers received out of the rates weekly grants based on the number of children in each family. With this stimulus to parenthood the number of children rapidly increased, and when the demand for child labour to tend the new machines began to develop, cartloads of children were despatched from the rural counties of the south to work under conditions little short of slavery in the factories of the north. It was very largely out of cheap child labour, and out of the resulting cheapness in adult labour, that the huge fortunes made out of our manufacturing industries in the first half of the nineteenth century were obtained. Except from the point of view of the capitalist it would have been far better if the development of our factory system had been slower. The extension of machinery would then have been a boon to all classes, and the well-being of the poor might have increased even more rapidly than the profits of the rich. It was the rapid multiplication of children which enabled the enterprising capitalist for several decades to appropriate almost the whole advantage of the marvellous powers of the new machines.

This aspect of the problem of employment is indeed frankly recognised by some Socialists to-day. For example, the authors of a pamphlet on 'Labour Legislation,' recently issued by the Labour Party from Ecclestone Square, say :—

'Probably also the fall in the birth-rate since 1872 (? 1876) has counted for something in the movement for bettering conditions—human life and therefore human labour is less cheap than it was.'

The last half sentence pithily expresses the root fact that the excessive wealth of the few depends on the multiplication of the many.

Happily in our own country the birth-rate was for many years before the war steadily declining, and this decline had begun, so far as can be gathered, to affect all classes except the slum dwellers in the large towns. But the decline in the birth-rate was not enough to arrest the growth of population, and in the decade ending 1911 the population of England and Wales increased by a larger volume than in any previous decade in our history.

This creates for England a local problem of very great gravity, not the problem of nourishment but the problem of elbow-room. England has long ceased to be an agricultural country. Roughly, three-quarters of the population dwell in towns, and in practically all the larger towns there is not a reasonable amount of room for the people there dwelling. London, in spite of its magnificent parks, is in some ways worse than any other city, just because it is so much bigger than all others. Few people realise that the population of London proper—the London comprised within the jurisdiction of the London County Council—is greater than the whole population of Scotland or of Ireland, and double the population of all Wales. The population of London as thus defined is also approximately the same as the population of the continent of Australia. What is popularly called Greater London, namely, the area within the Metropolitan Police District, has a larger population than the vast Dominion of Canada.

The conditions under which the larger part of this London population lives render the full enjoyment of human life impossible. The overcrowded houses look out on to narrow streets or on to squalid backyards. These streets are the only playground for the swarming multitudes of children, and it is pitiful to watch them organising games in such unsuitable surroundings. Perhaps even more pathetic is the sight of the efforts made by some of the inhabitants to obtain some touch with kindly Nature by trying to grow flowers in these sunless streets, either in window boxes or even in basement areas. The social reformer talks glibly about sweeping away the slums and building new houses for the people. But how is that to be done? Rather more than a year ago the *Times* published some illuminating articles on the London housing problem. One article (23rd August 1919) dealt with the case of Stepney.

After giving particulars of the population and area of Stepney Borough—280,000 persons to 1900 acres—the writer goes on :—

‘Thus a population as large as those of some of the industrial cities of the provinces, but without any of the amenities of the parks or less cramped suburban districts which are to be found in them, is shut into a corner from which it cannot under present circumstances escape, and in which there is not room for it. . . . There is a network of narrow streets—passages would be a more accurate description of some of them—which out of working hours teem with humanity. From them open courts a little narrower and, if possible, even less airy and more thickly tenanted. . . . For space to build on, even if all other difficulties were out of the way, one can only look upwards, and it needs no technical knowledge to see that the addition of a single storey would be impossible without a rebuilding of the structure underneath.’

But building upwards does not solve the problem ; it only renders the conditions of life more inhuman. Where the houses are high there is less air and less sunlight, and the children belonging to the upper flats have fewer chances of playing even in the streets.

It is this urban overcrowding which creates the gravest of England's problems to-day. The problem cannot, for various practical reasons, be solved either by the transference of industries to the country or by migration within the Empire. The numbers are too vast to be dealt with by these methods. Unless those numbers are reduced by deliberate birth control there can be no wide-spread racial improvement, no appreciable betterment in the general conditions of life. Space and fresh air and occasional solitude are essential to the full physical and mental development of human beings. A great part of the population of England lives under conditions where none of these things are attainable. They sleep in crowded bedrooms, they work in crowded factories, they travel in crowded trains or trams. Many of them have never known what it is to be alone. In such conditions it is impossible for men individually to attain to the full possibilities of human life, and it is impossible for the community to raise its general level.

EDITOR.

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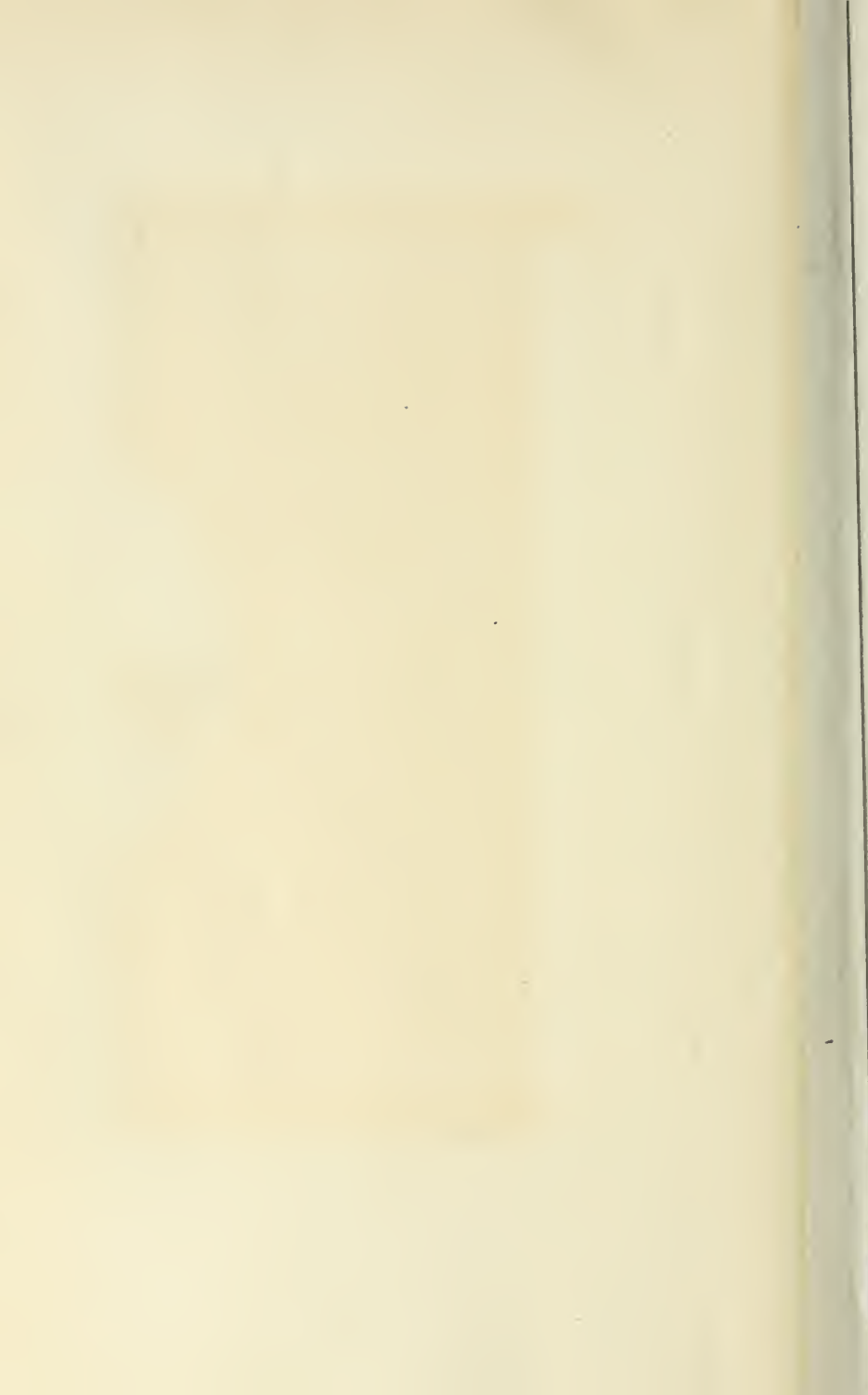
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